



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

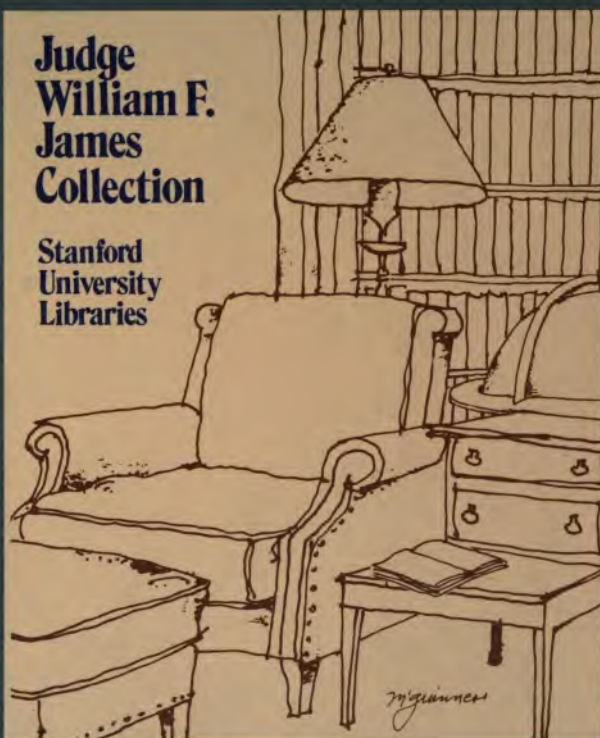
### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



**Judge  
William F.  
James  
Collection**

**Stanford  
University  
Libraries**











SIR JOHN FROISSART'S  
CHRONICLES  
OF  
ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,  
AND THE  
ADJOINING COUNTRIES,  
FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.  
TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EDITIONS,  
WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.

---

By THOMAS JOHNES.

---

Who so shall telle a tale after a man,  
He mooste reherle; as neigher as ever he can,  
Everich worde, if it be in his charge,  
All speke he never so rudely and so large;  
Or elles he mooste tellen his tale untrewe,  
Or feinen thinges; or finden wordes newe.

CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

THE THIRD EDITION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,  
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS,  
A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY,  
AND A DISSERTATION ON HIS POETRY.

VOL. III.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME, PATERNOSTER-ROW;  
AND J. WHITE, FLEET-STREET.

1808.

J113

F77

1808

v. 3

THE

# CONTENTS

OF

## THE THIRD VOLUME.

---

CHAP. CCV. THE King of England leaves Calais. The Order of his Army in their March through Picardy towards Rheims	Page 1
CCVI. The King of England lays siege to the City of Rheims, and to the Castle of Chargny. The War re-commences between the Duke of Normandy and the King of Navarre	12
CCVII. The Lord of Roze and his Company defeat the Remainder of the Troops of the Lord of Gomegines—The Castle of Commercy surrenders to the English	22
CCVIII. The King of England, after he had raised the siege of Rheims, wastes and destroys all the Countries he passes through.—He comes to Guillon, where he remains.—Great Quantities of Provision follow the Army	28
A 2	CHAP.



**CHAP. CCXXI.** Charles V. furnamed the Wise, is crowned King of France.— His brother Philip is invested with the Duchy of Burgundy, and sent against the Free Companies of Pillagers - Page 160

**CCXXII.** The Lord Lewis of Navarre makes Inourfions into France.— The Duke of Burgundy plans several Expeditions against him, but is forced to go into Burgundy, to defend it against the Earl de Mountbeliart - - 164

**CCXXIII.** King Charles orders the Duke of Burgundy to besiege La Charité. He wants it to surrender unconditionally, that he may send Assistance to Lord Charles de Blois, who is contesting the Duchy of Brittany with the Earl of Montfort - - 170

**CCXXIV.** The Lord Charles of Blois advances against the earl of Montfort in order of Battle.— Sir John Chandos, after having drawn up the Battalions of the Earl of Montfort, prevents the Treaty from taking place which the Lord de Beaumanoir was negotiating between the two Pretenders to the Duchy of Brittany - - 177

**CCXXV.** The Battle of Auray, in which Sir Bertrand du Guesclin is made Prisoner. Chs. de Blois is slain, and John de Montfort is victorious 188

**CHAP.**

**CHAP. CCXXVI.** The Chiefs attached to the Earl of Montfort retire after the Victory at Auray.—The Earl's Conduct, on seeing Charles de Blois dead.—Truces granted for burying the Slain.—In what manner the King of England was informed of the Event of this Battle of Auray - Page 195

**CCXXVII.** The Earl of Montfort conquers Auray and several other Places from the Widow of Lord Charles de Blois. King Charles interposes between them, and makes Peace.—A Peace is also made between the Kings of France and Navarre, through the medium of the Capal de Buch 203

**CCXXVIII.** A War in Spain between the King, Don Pedro of Castille, and his bastard Brother Henry, to whose Aid the Lord John de Bourbon and Sir Bertrand du Guesclin lead the pillaging Companies. Henry, by their Means, is crowned King of Castille - 210

**CCXXIX.** King don Pedro sends to entreat the Prince of Wales' Assistance against his Brother Henry the Bastard.—He retires into Guienne, where he is well received by the Prince - 224

**CHAP. CCXXX.** The Prince of Wales holds a grand Conference at Bourdeaux on the Affairs of the King of Castille. He receives Letters from the King of England to assent to the Proposals of assisting don Pedro. He makes Overtures to the King of Navarre, for a Free Passage through his Kingdom, to enable him to conduct Don Pedro back to Castille Page 234

**CCXXXI.** The Prince of Wales makes Preparations for replacing Don Pedro on his Throne of Castille. Henry the Bastard, though late informed of it, endeavours to prevent it - 241

**CCXXXII.** The Viscount of Narbonne, the Seneschal of Toulouse, with other French Lords, having attacked some of the Free Companies, that were come into France according to the Orders of the Prince, are discomfited near Montauban. —The Pope forbids the Prisoners, whom the Companies had taken, and set free on their Parole after the Combat, to keep their Faith, or to pay any Ransom - 250

**CCXXXIII.** During the Time the Prince of Wales is preparing for his Expedition into Castille, the King of Majorca seeks Refuge with

with him against the King of Arragon.—The Prince displeases the Lord D'Albret

Page 260

**CHAP. CCXXXIV.** The Birth of Richard, Son of the Prince of Wales.—The Arriyal of the Duke of Lancaster, to accompany his Brother on his intended Expedition.—New Treaties with the King of Navarre, for the Security of passing through his Kingdom.—Sir Bertrand du Guesclin returns to the Assistance of King Henry 267

**CCXXXV.** The Prince of Wales and his Army pass the Mountains of Navarre, and arrive at Pampeluna.—King Henry of Castille writes Letters to him.—Sir William Felton commands an advanced Party of the Army 273

**CCXXXVI.** The king of Navarre is made Prisoner by Sir Olivier de Mauny, a Breton and Partisan of King Henry.—The Prince of Wales advances to Salvatierra, in Spain.—Sir William Felton skirmishes with the enemy near the Quarters of the King of Spain.—The two Armies advance towards each other 281

**CHAP.**

**CHAP. CCXXXVII.** The Arrival of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, to the Aid of King, Henry.—Don Tello attacks the Advanced Guard of the Prince of Wales, defeats Sir William Felton and his Body of Men - Page 288

**CCXXXVIII.** Sir Arnold d'Andreghen gives good Advice to King Henry of Castille.—The Prince of Wales sends a tardy Answer to the King's Letter 294

**CCXXXIX.** The Battle of Navarete, which the Prince of Wales, supporting the Part of King Don Pedro against his Brother the Bastard, gains. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin is made Prisoner, and King Henry forced to fly, after having fought most valiantly - 300

**CCXL.** All Castille, after the Battle of Navarete, acknowledge Don Pedro. He protracts the Stay of the Prince of Wales at Valladolid, whilst he seeks for Money to pay the Army - 317

**CCXLI.** King Henry of Castille, having escaped from the Battle of Najara, makes War upon Aquitaine. — The Prince



Prince of Wales leaves Spain,  
discontented with the King  
Don Pedro. Page 324

**CHAP. CCXLII.** After the return of the Prince  
to Aquitaine, Henry King of  
Castille leaves Bagnieres in  
Bigorre, and retires to the  
Kingdom of Arragon.—Sir  
Bertrand du Guesclin obtains  
his Ransom.—The Free Com-  
panies of the Prince enter the  
Kingdom of France.—Some  
of the great Barons of Ac-  
quaine complain to King  
Charles of France of a certain  
Tax, called Fouage, which  
the Prince was about to lay  
on their Lands. 335

**CCXLIII.** The Bastard Henry of Castille,  
by the Assistance of the King  
of Arragon and Sir Bertrand  
du Guesclin, again makes War  
upon his Brother Don Pe-  
dro.—Having defeated him in  
a Battle, he is made Prisoner,  
and murdered.—Henry re-  
mains King of Spain. 345

**CCXLIV.** King Charles V. is advised to  
declare himself Lord Para-  
mount of Guienne and Ac-  
quaine, on Account of the  
Hearth Tax which the Prince  
of Wales was about to raise.  
This causes a renewal of the  
War between the French and  
English. 363

**CHAP.**

**CHAP. CCXLV.** The king of France sends a Summons to the Prince of Wales, to appear in the Chamber of Peers at Paris, in the Matter of an Appeal from the Barons of Gascony Page 374

**CCXLVI.** The Prince of Wales imprisons the Commissioners from the King of France who had brought him the Summons of Appeal from the Lords of Gascony to the Court of France. 378

**CCXLVII.** The Duke of Berry and several more Lords who had been Hostages in England, return to France 382

**CCXLVIII.** The Earl of Perigord, the Viscount of Carmaing and other Barons of Gascony defeat the High Steward of Rouergue 386

**CCXLIX.** The King of France gains over several Captains of the Free Companies. He sends his Defiance to the King of England 390

**CCL.** Challenges from France are delivered to the King of England.—The Earl de St. Pol and the Lord de Chatillon conquer the County of Pontieu 395

**CCLI.** The King of England sends a large Body of Men at Arms to the Borders of Scotland.—The Dukes of Berry and of Anjou

Anjou issue their orders for their  
Vassals to attack the Prince of  
Wales - - Page 399

**CHAP. CCLII.** Several Captains of Companies  
side with different Parties. The  
King of England sends the Earl  
of Cambridge and the Earl of  
Pembroke to the Assistance of his  
Son the Prince of Wales. They  
pass through Brittany. - 401

**CCLIII.** The Earls Cambridge and of Pem-  
broke arrive at Angoulême.—  
The Prince sends them to over-  
run the County of Perigord —  
Some English are defeated near  
to Lusignan - - 406

**CCLIV.** Sir John Chandos takes Terrieres.  
The Earl of Perigord and many  
other Knights lay Siege to Real-  
ville in Quercy - 410

**CCLV.** The Archbishop of Toulouse turns  
the City of Cahors and several  
other Towns to the Party of the  
King of France.—The Dukes of  
Gueldres and of Juliers send  
Defiances to the King of France 413

**CCLVI.** The Duke of Burgundy, Brother  
to King Charles V. marries the  
Daughter of the Earl of Flanders.  
—The King of England enters  
into Negotiations with the King  
of Navarre - - 419

**CCLVII.** The Constables of France and of  
Hainault undertake a grand Ex-  
pedition to attack Ardres. The  
Fortress

Fortress of Realville is taken,  
and all the English who were  
in it put to the Sword Page 424

**CHAP. CCLVIII.** The French take La Roche  
Pofay.—The Seneschal of  
Poitou burns and destroys  
the Lands of the Lord de  
Chauvigny, and takes by as-  
sault his principal Town of  
Bruz 427

**CCLIX.** Sir Robert Knolles is appoint-  
ed Captain of the Prince's-  
Company.—He causes Sir  
Perducas d'Albret to turn to  
the English.—He besieges  
the French Companies in  
the Fort of Durmel 431

**CCLX.** Sir Robert Knolles and Sir  
John Chandos raise the Siege  
of Durmel.—They lay Siege  
to the Castle of Domme 438

**CCLXI.** Sir Robert Knolles and Sir John  
Chandos march from Domme  
without doing any thing.—  
They take Gavaches, Roche-  
mador and several other  
Towns which had turned to  
the Party of the French 440

**CCLXII.** The Earls of Cambridge and of  
Pembroke conquer the Gar-  
rison of Bourdeilles 443

**CCLXIII.** Sir Robert Knolles, Sir John  
Chandos and Sir Thomas  
Felton marshal their Men,  
and return to the Prince of  
Wales 447

**CHAP.**

**CHAP. CCLXIV.** The Free Companies attached to the English take the Castle of Belleperche, and the Mother of the Duke of Bourbon who was in it.—They also take the strong Castle of St. Sauveur in Berry Page 449

**CCLXV.** The King of France, intending to send a large Naval Armament to the English Coasts, is prevented by the Arrival of the Duke of Lancaster at Calais 451

**CCLXVI.** The Castle of La Roche Sur Yon surrenders to the English.—The Governor of it put to Death, by Orders from the Duke of Anjou 454



1115

THE  
CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c.

---

CHAP. CCV.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LEAVES CALAIS. THE  
ORDER OF HIS ARMY IN THEIR MARCH THROUGH  
PICARDY TOWARDS RHEIMS.

WHEN the king of England was arrived at Calais, attended by the prince of Wales and three other sons, namely, Lionel earl of Ulster, John earl of Richmond, and Edmund, afterwards earl of Cambridge, the youngest of the four, with the following lords and their attendants, he ordered the cavalry, provision, and baggage, to be landed, and remained there four days. He then commanded every man to get ready; for he was desirous of marching after his cousin the duke of Lancaster.

He left the town of Calais on the next morning, and took the field with the largest army and best appointed train of baggage-waggon, that had ever quitted England. It was said, there were upwards of six thousand carts and waggons, which had all been brought with him. He then arranged his battalions: they were so richly and well dressed that it was a pleasure to look at them: he nominated his

cousin the earl of March, whom he much loved, his constable.

First marched five hundred knights, well armed, and a thousand archers, in the van of the king's battalion, which was composed of three thousand men at arms and five thousand archers; himself and attendants riding among them in close order after the constable. In the rear of the king's battalion, was the immense baggage-train, which occupied two leagues in length: it consisted of upwards of five thousand carriages, with a sufficiency of horses to carry the provision for the army, and those utensils never before accustomed to be carried after an army, such as handmills to grind their corn, ovens to bake their bread, and a variety of other necessary articles.

Next marched the strong battalion of the prince of Wales: he was accompanied by his brothers: it was composed of full two thousand men at arms, most excellently mounted and richly dressed. Both the men at arms and archers marched in close order, so that they were ready instantly to engage, should there be occasion.

On their march, they did not leave even a boy behind them without waiting for them, so that they could not well advance more than four leagues a day.

In this state, they were met by the duke of Lancaster with the foreign lords as has been before related, between Calais and the abbey of Licques\*,

---

\* Licques,—a small town in Picardy, sovereignty of  
 titles

in a handsome plain. There were also, in this army of the king of England, five hundred pioneers with spades and pick-axes, to level the roads, and cut down trees and hedges, for the more easily passing of the carriages.

I wish now to name the great lords of England who crossed the sea with the king, and the duke of Lancaster his cousin-german.

First then, there were his four sons already named; Henry duke of Lancaster; John earl of March, constable of England; the earls of Warwick and Suffolk, marshals of England; the earls of Hereford, Northampton, Salisbury, Stamford, Oxford; the bishops of Lincoln and Durham; the lords Percy, Neville, Despenser, Roos, Manny, Reginald Cobham, Mowbray, Delawatre; sir John Chandos, sir Richard Pembridge\*, the lord Maine, the lord Willoughby, the lord Felton, the lord Basset, the lord Charlton†, the lord Silvancier‡, sir James Audley, sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, the lord Scales, sir Stephen Collington, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Lisle, sir Nefle Loring, and a great many others whom I cannot recollect.

These lords then rode on in the same order I mentioned on their quitting Calais, and marched

---

\* Sir Richard Pembridge is buried in Hereford cathedral. See Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.

† ‡ In my MSS. it is *Corbant* and *Silvancier*. *Hartley* says, there was lord John Charlton, who was chamberlain to the king; but who Silvancier is, I cannot find out. Lord *Barnes* repeats the word, and calls the first lord *Grabalton*.

Sir Galahaut was always eager for any warlike enterprise, and, finding himself thus courteously sought after by his neighbours of Peronne, readily complied with their request, and answered, that he would set out and be with them the day after the morrow. He left Tournay with about thirty lances; but his numbers, as he rode on, increased. He sent to sir Roger de Coulongne, to meet him at an appointed place, which sir Roger did, accompanied by nineteen good companions, so that sir Galahaut had now fifty lances. They took up their quarters one night, in their way to Peronne, within two short leagues of the enemy, at a village, but where they found no one, for all the inhabitants of the low countries had fled to the fortified towns.

On the next morning, they were to have got into Peronne, as they were but a small distance from it. About the hour of midnight, when supper was over, after they had posted their watch, they were chatting and jesting about feats of arms, of which they had wherewithal to talk, sir Galahaut said; 'We shall get into Peronne very early to-morrow morning; but, before we make our entry there, I would propose an excursion towards the flanks of our enemies; for I shall be much mistaken, if there will not be some of them who will set out early in hopes of gaining honor or booty by pillaging the country; and we may perchance meet with them, and make them pay our score. His companions immediately agreed to this proposal, kept it secret among themselves, and were ready with their horses saddled at break of day. They took the field in good order, and



and, leaving the road which led to Peronne, skirted the woods to see if they could meet with any one: they arrived at a village, the inhabitants of which had fortified the church: sir Galahaut dismounted at this place, where there was wine, with bread and meat in plenty, which were offered to them by those within.

Whilst they were at this place, sir Galahaut called to him two of his squires, one of whom was Bridoul de Tallonne, and said to them; ' Ride forward, and examine the country round, to see if you can perceive any one: and, if you find nothing, return here to us: we will wait for you.' The two squires set off, mounted on good horses, and made for a wood which was about half a French league distant.

This same morning, sir Reginald de Boullant, a german knight belonging to the duke of Lancaster's division, had rode forth since day-break, and, having made a large circuit without seeing any one, had halted at that spot. The two squires, being come thither, imagined they might be some persons of the country, who had placed themselves there in ambuscade, and rode so near that each party saw the other. The two Frenchmen, therefore, consulted together, and said, ' If they be Germans, we must pretend we belong to them: if they be of this part of the country, we will tell them who we are.' When they were so near each other that they could speak, the two squires soon perceived, by their uniforms, that they were Germans and their enemies.

Sir Reginald de Boullant spoke to them in German, and inquired whose foldiers they were. Bridoul de Tallonne, who well understood that language, answered, 'We belong to sir Bartholomew Burghersh.' 'And where is sir Bartholomew?' 'He is,' replied he, 'in that village.' 'For what reason has he stopped there?' 'Sir, because he has sent us forward, to see if we can find any thing to forage in this part of the country.' 'By my faith, there is not,' answered sir Reginald; 'for I have been all over it, and have not been able to pick up any thing. Return to him, and tell him to advance, and we will ride together as far as St. Quentin, and see if we cannot find out a better country, or some good adventure.' 'And who are you?' demanded the squire. 'I am called Reginald de Boullant,' answered the knight, 'and say so to sir Bartholomew.' Upon this the two squires turned about, and went to the village where they had left their master. As soon as sir Galahaut saw them, he asked, 'What news? have you found or seen any thing?' 'Yes, sir, enough, in conscience: beyond this wood is sir Reginald de Boullant, with about thirty more: he has been riding about this neighbourhood all this morning, and desires much to have your company to ride further forward towards St. Quentin.'

'How,' replied sir Galahaut, 'what are you saying? sir Reginald de Boullant is a German knight, and in the service of England.' 'All this we know well,' answered the squire. 'Then how could you get away from him?' 'Sir,' said Bridoul, 'I will tell you.'

you.' He then related to him all that conversation which has just been mentioned.

When sir Galahaut heard what had passed, he was for a moment thoughtful; and then asked the opinions of sir Reginald de Coulongne and some other knights present, what was best to be done. The knights answered, 'Sir, you are seeking for adventures, and, when they fall into your mouth, take advantage of them, for by all means, allowed by the laws of arms, every man ought to molest his enemy.' To this advice sir Galahaut cheerfully assented, for he was very desirous of meeting the Germans.

He ordered his steed to be got ready, and put on his helmet with the visor down, that he might not be known: the rest did the same.

They quitted the village, and, getting into the fields, rode to the right for the wood, where sir Reginald was waiting for them. They might be about seventy men at arms, and sir Reginald had but thirty.

As soon as sir Reginald perceived them advancing, he collected his men together in a very orderly manner, and thus left his ambuscade, with his pennon displayed before him, and marched with a gentle pace to meet the French, whom he believed to be English. When he was come up with them, he raised his visor, and saluted sir Galahaut, by the name of sir Bartholomew Burghersh. Sir Galahaut kept his face covered, and replied in a low voice, adding, 'Come, come, let us ride on.' Upon which,

which, his people drew off on one side, and the Germans on the other.

When sir Reginald de Bouillant noticed his manner, and that sir Galahaut was eyeing him askance without saying a word, some doubts entered his mind. He had not rode a quarter of an hour before he stopt short, under his banner, in the midst of his people, and said aloud; 'I have some suspicions, sir knight, that you are not sir Bartholomew de Burghersh; for I am well acquainted with sir Bartholomew, and hitherto I have not seen your face; therefore, you must tell me your real name, before I ride any farther in your company.'

At these words, sir Galahaut raised his visor, and advanced towards the knight, in order to seize the reins of his horse, crying out, 'Our Lady of Ribemont!' which was echoed by sir Roger de Coulongne, crying, 'Coulongne to the rescue!'

Sir Reginald, perceiving his mistake, was not much frightened, but laying his hand quickly on his sword of war, which he wore by his side, that was both stiff and strong, drew it out of the scabbard; and, as sir Galahaut advanced to take the bridle, sir Reginald gave him so furious a stroke with this sword, that it penetrated the armour, and passed through his body. Having drawn it back again, he stuck spurs in his horse, and left sir Galahaut grievously wounded.

The companions of sir Galahaut, perceiving their master and captain in such a condition, were like madmen: they threw themselves up, and attacked the

the party of sir Reginald most fiercely, when some of them were unhorsed. As for sir Reginald himself, he had no sooner struck sir Galahaut than, clapping spurs to his horse, he had galloped off. Some of sir Galahaut's squires pursued him, whilst others were engaged with the Germans, with the intention of being fully revenged: but sir Reginald, who was a bold and accomplished knight, was not much alarmed: however, when he found himself so closely pursued, that it was proper to turn about or be disgraced, he wheeled round, and struck the nearest so violently with his strong sword, that he had not any desire to follow him further: thus, as he was riding off, he beat down and severely wounded three; and had he had a sharp battle-axe in his hand, every one of his strokes would have killed a man.

In this manner did the knight escape from the French, without receiving the smallest wound, which his enemies, as well as all those who heard of it, considered as a most gallant act: but it fared otherwise with his people, as they were almost all killed or made prisoners, scarcely any escaping.

They placed sir Galahaut de Ribemmont, who was very severely wounded, on a litter, and carried him to Peronne to a physician. He was never perfectly cured of this wound; for he was a knight of such courage that he would not allow it time to heal, so that he died shortly afterward.

We will now return to the king of England, and relate how he laid siege to the city and castle of Rheims,

CHAP.

## CHAP. CCVI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LAYS SIEGE TO THE CITY  
OF RHEIMS, AND TO THE CASTLE OF CHARGNY.  
THE WAR RE-COMMENCES BETWEEN THE DUKE  
OF NORMANDY AND THE KING OF NAVARRE.

**T**HE English continued their march, until they had passed through Artois, the low country of which they found in great poverty and distress for provisions, and had entered Cambresis, where all things were in greater abundance; for the inhabitants of the plains had not carried their provisions into any fortresses, thinking themselves secure from the English, as forming a dependence of the empire; but the king of England did not consider them in that light, nor look upon Cambresis as part of the empire.

The king took up his quarters in the town of Beaurevoir in Cambresis, encamping his army in the neighbourhood, where they halted four days to refresh themselves and horses, and from whence they overran the greater part of the country of Cambresis.

The bishop, Peter of Cambray, and the councils of the lords of the country and the principal towns, sent divers messengers, under a passport, to inquire the grounds of the war. They received for answer, that some time ago they had contracted alliances with the French, had aided them much, had supported them in their towns and fortresses, and had before made part in the war as enemies: that these  
were

were the reasons why the war was carried on in their country: nor could they get any other answer. The Cambresians were therefore obliged to put up with their losses and grievances as well as they could.

The king continued his route through Cambresis, and entered Tierache\*; but his people overran the country to the right and left, and took provisions wherever they could lay hands on them. It chanced, that in one of these foraging parties sir Bartholomew Burghersh, in riding towards St. Quentin, accidentally met the governor of that place, sir Baldwin d'Annequin, when both riders and horses met together: there was great confusion, and many were unhorsed on each side; but in the end the English gained the field, and sir Baldwin d'Annequin was captured by sir Bartholomew Burghersh, to whom he had been before a prisoner at the battle of Poitiers.

The English returned to the king, who that day was lodged in the abbey of Femy†, where they found great plenty of provisions for themselves and horses; they then passed on, and continued their march without any hindrance, so that they arrived in the environs of Rheims.

---

\* Tierache,—a fertile country in Picardy, watered by the Oise and the Serre, to the west of Champagne, and south of Hainault.

† Femy,—a village in Cambresis, on the borders of Hainault.

The king's quarters were at St. Waal beyond Rheims, and the prince of Wales's at St. Thierry\*, where they held their courts. The Duke of Lancaster, after them, kept the greatest household. The counts, barons, and knights, were quartered in the neighbouring villages to Rheims, so that they were not very comfortable, nor had they weather to please them; for they had arrived there in the depth of winter, about St. Andrew's day, when it was very rainy: their horses were badly housed, hardly treated, and ill fed, as the whole country was so destroyed, by having been for two or three years before the theatre of war, that no one had tilled or sowed the ground. There was such scarcity of corn of all sorts, many were forced to seek forage ten or twelve leagues off. These parties met frequently with the garrisons of the neighbouring fortresses: sharp skirmishes ensued between them: sometimes the English lost, at others were victorious.

Sir John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, the count de Porcien, sir Hugh de Porcien his brother, the lord de la Bone, the lord de Canency, the lord Dannore, the lord de Lore, were governors and captains of the town at the time the king of England besieged it. Many other barons, knights and squires of the district of Rheims were also there, who exerted themselves so much that the town suffered little loss or damage from the siege:

---

\* St. Thierry,—a small village in Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

besides,



besides, it was strong, well fortified, and as well defended.

The king of England was not desirous of storming it, lest his army might suffer too much from wounds or fatigue; he remained, therefore, before it, from St. Andrew's day to the beginning of Lent.

Detachments from his army, however, scoured the country in search of adventures. Some of them went over the whole country of Rhetel, as far as Warq\*, to Maisieres†, Donchery‡, and Moufons§: they quartered themselves in the country for three or four days; and, after having pillaged it without let or hindrance, they returned again to their army.

During the time that the king of England was before Rheims, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt had taken the good town of Achery sur Aine||; in which he had found a great quantity of provisions, and, in particular, upwards of three thousand tons of wine. He sent a large portion of it to the king of England and his sons, for which they were very thankful.

Whilst this siege lasted, many knights left it, to seek what good fortune they might find. Among

---

\* Warq-les-Maisons,—a village of Champagne, election of Rhetel.

† Mezieres,—a strong city of Champagne, diocese of Rheims, election of Rhetel.

‡ Donchery,—a town of Champagne, on the Meuse, diocese of Rheims, election of Rhetel.

§ Moufons,—a town of Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

|| Achery,—a town in Picardy, on the Oise, diocese of Laon. The River Aine falls into the Oise near Compeigne.

others,

others, fir John Chandos, fir James Audley, the lord of Mucident, fir Richard de Pontchardon, with their companies, advanced so near to Châlons in Champagne, that they came to Chargny en Dormois\*, where there was a very handsome and strong castle. Having carefully examined it, they were very desirous of gaining this castle, and directly made an assault on it.

Within it were two good and valiant knights as governors: the name of one was fir John de Caples, who bore for arms a cross anchored sable, on a shield or.

The attack was sharp and long: the two knights and their garrison defended themselves well; and it behoved them so to do, for they were assaulted very roughly. The lord of Mucident, who was a powerful and rich lord in Gascony, advanced so forward at this attack, that he received a severe blow from a stone on his helmet, through which it found a passage to his head: he was so badly wounded, that he could not be carried away, but died in the arms of his people.

The other barons and knights were so enraged at the death of the lord of Mucident, they swore they would never quit the place until they had conquered the castle, and all that were in it. They renewed the assault with double vigour: many gallant deeds were performed: for the Gascons, being irritated by the loss of their lord, rushed into the ditches, close to the walls of the castle, without sparing themselves, and, placing their shields over their heads,

---

\* Dormois,—a country of Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

climbed up them: the archers, in the mean time, kept such a continual volley of arrows, that no one dared to appear. The castle was so briskly assaulted that it was won, but it cost them dear. When the English were masters of it, they made the two knights prisoners who had so valiantly defended it, and some other squires and gentlemen: the rest of the garrison they put to the sword. They destroyed much of the castle of Chargny, because they did not wish to keep it, and returned to the king and his barons, to relate what they had performed.

During the time they were before Rheims, great animosities and hatred arose between the king of Navarre and the duke of Normandy. I am not perfectly well informed of the real cause\*, but so it was, for the king of Navarre quitted Paris suddenly, and went to Mantes sur Seine, from whence he sent his challenge to the duke and his brothers. Many a baron was much surpris'd at this, and wondered for what cause the war was to be renewed.

However, a squire from Brussels, whose name was Waustre Ostrate, under pretence of this war, took the strong castle of Roulleboise upon the Seine, a short league from Mantes, which was afterwards a great annoyance to the Parisians and all the neighbourhood.

---

\* Probably occasioned by the king of Navarre's treasonable designs being discovered. See Villaret's Hist. of France, pp. 216, &c.

It is said there, that the castle of Roulleboise was taken by one of the king of Navarre's captains.

While the king of England was besieging, with his whole army, Rheims, it happened that the lord Gomegines, who had returned to the queen in England, at the time the king had sent all strangers out of Calais, as has been before related, re-passed the sea, and with him some squires of Gascony and England, who accompanied him into Hainault, intending to join the army before Rheims.

The young lord of Gomegines, being eager to advance himself, collected some men together on his return to Hainault. Many men at arms joined him, and served under his pennon. When they were all assembled, they might amount to about three hundred. They set out from Maubeuge\*, where they had been mustered, and came to Avesnes†, which they passed through, and then to Trelon‡.

The lord of Roze, at this period, was in garrison at Roze§ in Tierache: there were a great many companions with him, as well knights as squires; and he had been informed, by the spies he kept in pay on the borders of Hainault, of the lord of Gomegines having collected a body of forces, which he was marching to the assistance of the king of England before Rheims, and that he and his troops must pass through Tierache. As soon as the lord

---

\* A strong town in Hainault, on the Sambre, diocese of Cambray.

† Avesnes,—a strong town in Hainault, diocese of Cambray.

‡ Trelon,—a village in Flanders, near Avesnes.

§ Roze,—a strong town in Picardy. My printed copies have it Ray, two MSS. Roy, one Rofoy.

of Roye had ascertained the truth of this intelligence, he communicated it secretly to all his fellow-foldiers in the neighbourhood, and particularly to the lord Robert, canon de Roberfart, who at that time managed the estates of the young earl de Courcy, and resided in the castle of Marle\*. When the canon heard it, he was not slow in obeying the summons, but came to the lord of Roye with full forty lances. The lord of Roye was chosen the chief of this expedition, as indeed he had reason to expect, for he was a powerful baron in Picardy, and for the times was a good man, and a gallant foldier, much renowned, and well spoken of in various places.

These French men at arms, who might amount to three hundred, posted themselves in ambuscade on the road the lord of Gomegines and his troops must necessarily pass, who was quite ignorant of their intentions, and who thought to continue his march unmolested; he entered, therefore, Tierache, and, taking the road to Rheims, came very early in the morning to a village called Habergny†, where they determined to halt for a short time to refresh themselves and horses, and then to continue their route without any more delay. They dismounted in this village, and began to make preparations for feeding their horses. Whilst his companions were thus employed, the lord of Gomegines, who was

---

\* Marle,—a town in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

† Habergny. Barnes calls it Harcigny, which is a village in Picardy, diocese of Laon. Habergny is not in the Gazetteer.

then young and wilful, said, he would ride out of the village to see if he could not meet with something better to forage. He called to him five or six of his companions, and Christopher de Mur\* his squire, who bore his pennon: they quitted the village furiously, but without any order or regularity.

It happened that the French knights and their troops were in ambuscade near this village: they had followed them the preceding day and night, in order that they might combat them with more certainty; and, if a proper opportunity had not offered itself in the plain, they intended to have entered the village, for the purpose of attacking them; but the lord of Gomegines fell into their hands.

When the French lords perceived the lord of Gomegines and his company advancing on this secret excursion, they were at first surprised, and could not conceive who they might be. They sent two scouts on the look-out, who brought back word, that they were enemies.

This news was no sooner heard than they quitted their ambuscade, each crying out, 'Roye, for the lord of Roye!'

The knights advanced before the lord of Roye, who had his banner displayed in front. There were sir Flamen de Roye his cousin, sir Lewis de Roberfart, the canon de Roberfart his brother, who was a squire, sir Triftram de Bonne-roye, and others, each armed according to his condition, with

---

\* Barnes makes him an Englishman, of the name of Moor, but I see no cause for it.

their

their swords hanging to their wrists, and their spears couched, towards their enemies, crying out, 'Roye, for the lord of Roye!'

When the lord of Gomegines perceived the ambuscade he had fallen into, he was much astonished; but he determined to stand his ground, and wait his enemies, for both himself and followers disdained to fly: they couched their spears, and formed themselves in order of battle. The French, being well mounted, charged these English and Gascons, who were not very numerous; and, at the first charge, the lord of Gomegines was run through with a spear, and had not afterwards an opportunity, from the situation of the place, to remount his horse. His people fought valiantly, and many gallant deeds were done; but in the end the lord of Gomegines could not hold out; he was therefore made prisoner, on his parole. Two of his squires had fought valiantly, but were forced to yield, or they would have been slain, as well as Christopher de Mur, a valiant squire, who bore the pennon of the lord of Gomegines. To make an end of this affair, all those of the Gomegine party were either slain or made prisoners, except the valets, who, being well mounted, saved themselves by flight. No pursuit was made after them, more weighty considerations occupying their enemies.

## CHAP. CVII.

THE LORD OF ROYE AND HIS COMPANY DEFEAT  
THE REMAINDER OF THE TROOPS OF THE LORD  
OF GOMEGINES.—THE CASTLE OF COMMERCY\*  
SURRENDERS TO THE ENGLISH.

**T**HE knights and squires who had taken the lord of Gomegines, and overthrow all those who had followed him out of the village, did not wish to lose time, but, putting spurs to their horses, galloped into the above mentioned village, calling out, 'Roye, for the lord of Roye!' Those who were there were much alarmed at this cry, and surprised to find their enemies so near them, as they were chiefly disarmed and scattered about, so that they could not rally nor collect together.

The French made prisoners of them at their pleasure, in houses, barns, and ovens: and the canon de Roberfart had many who surrendered themselves to him, because his banners were better known than those of the others. It is true, indeed, that some of them retreated to a small fortified house, surrounded by a moat, which is situate in this village of Harcigny, and consulted among themselves whether to defend it until the king of England, who was before Rheims, might hear of their disaster, (for the mansion could very soon be made strong enough to enable them to hold out,) when they thought, that as soon as he should know of their situation, he

---

\* Commercy is not in the Gazetteer. Barnes calls it Cornicy, which is a town in Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

would



would without doubt send forces to relieve them. Some, however, hesitated, as the house was in an open country, and they were surrounded by their enemies. Whilst they were thus debating, the lord of Roze and his companions came before it, and said to them; 'Listen, gentlemen; if you force us to make the slightest assault, we will not suffer any one of you to escape death; for, if we begin, we will continue the attack until we take it.' These and such like words threw them into confusion; and even the boldest were alarmed: they surrendered, therefore, on having their lives spared.

They were all made prisoners, and sent to the castle of Coucy, and the other garrisons from whence the French had marched.

This disaster happened to the lord of Gomegines and his party about Christmas 1359. When the king of England was informed of it, he was mightily enraged; but he could not amend it.

We will now return to the siege of Rheims, and speak of an adventure which happened to sir Bartholomew Burghersh, who had laid siege to the town and castle of Cormicy, in which was a knight of Champagne, whose name was sir Henry de Vaulx; he wore black armour, and bore for arms five almonds argent on a field sable: his war-cry was 'Viane\*.'

---

\* In all the printed books I have seen, his name is Henry de Noir, but at the end it is Henri de Vaulx. My two MSS. have, 'Messire Henri de Vaulx, et s'armoit le dit messire Henri, de noir a cinq amans d'argent, et criet Viane.'

*Q.* Amans, — not in any of my dictionaries. Mr. Lodge supposes they must mean almonds.

During this siege of Rheims, the earls, barons and great lords were quartered in the neighbourhood, as you have before heard, in order to prevent any provision being carried into that city. Among them was sir Bartholomew Burghersh, a great baron of England: he and his suite, with his company of archers and men at arms, were lodged near Cormicy, where there is a very handsome castle belonging to the archbishop of Rheims, who had put into it the knight before mentioned, with many good companions, to guard it against their enemies.

They were far from fearing any attack; for the castle had a large square tower, whose walls were very thick, and it was well furnished with arms of defence.

When sir Bartholomew had surrounded this castle, and, by well reconnoitring its strength, found he could not take it by assault, he ordered a number of miners, whom he had with him in his pay, to get themselves ready and do their duty in undermining the fortrefs, when he would reward them handsomely: upon which they replied, they would cheerfully undertake it.

The miners immediately broke ground, and, having lodged themselves in their mine, worked night and day; infomuch that they advanced far under the great tower; and, as they pushed forward, they propped up the work, that those within knew nothing of it.

When they had thus completed their mine so that they could throw down the tower when they chose, they came to sir Bartholomew Burghersh, and said him; 'Sir, we have carried our works so far that

that this tower, great as it is, shall be thrown down whenever you please.' 'It is well,' replied sir Bartholomew: 'but do nothing more without my orders:' to which they willingly consented. The king immediately mounted his steed; and taking John de Guistelles\* with him, who was one of his companions, they advanced to the castle, and sir Bartholomew made a signal that he wished to have a parley with those within.

Upon this, sir Henry came forward on the battlements, and demanded what he wanted, 'I want you to surrender,' replied sir Bartholomew, 'or you will be all infallibly destroyed.' 'By what means?' answered the French knight, who began to laugh: 'we are perfectly well supplied with every thing; and you wish us thus simply to surrender: certainly it shall not be to-day,' added sir Henry. 'Certainly,' said the English knight, 'if you were truly informed what your situation is, you would surrender instantly, without more words.' 'Why, what is our situation?' demanded sir Henry. 'If you will come out, upon my assurance of your safety, I will shew you,' replied sir Bartholomew. Sir Henry accepted the condition, and came out of the fortrefs, with only three others, to sir Bartholomew and John de Guistelles, who immediately conducted them to the mine, and shewed them that the great tower was only supported on props of wood.

When the French knight saw the peril he and his garrison were in, he told sir Bartholomew, that he had very good reasons for what he had said, and

---

\* Barnes calls him lord John de Botetourt; but he gives no authority for it.

that his proceedings were truly gallant and noble :  
 ‘ we shall therefore surrender ourselves to your will.’

Sir Bartholomew took them all his prisoners, made them leave the tower one after the other with their baggage, and then set fire to the mine.

The timber was soon on fire ; and, when the props were burnt, the tower, which was extremely large, opened in two places, and fell on the opposite side to where sir Bartholomew was standing, who said to sir Henry and the garrison of the fortress, ‘ Now, see if I did not tell you the truth.’ ‘ We own it, sir,’ replied they, ‘ and remain prisoners at your pleasure. We also return you our best thanks for your kindness to us ; for if the Jacques, who formerly overran this country, had had the same advantage over us that you have, they would not have acted so generously.’

Thus were all the garrison of Cormicy made prisoners, and the castle thrown to the ground.

The king of England remained before Rheims for upwards of seven weeks, but never made any assault upon it, as it would have been useless. He began to tire ; and as his army found great difficulties in obtaining forage and provision, their horses perished. He broke up his camp, and marched off towards Châlons, in Champagne, in the same order as before.

The king and his army passed very near to Châlons, and sat down before Bar sur Aube, and afterwards before the city of Troyes. He took up his quarters at Mery sur Seine.\*

---

\* Mery sur Seine,—diocese and election of Troyes, seven leagues from Troyes.—GAZETTEER.

The whole army lay between Mery and Troyes, which is reckoned to be eight leagues distant from each other.

Whilst he was at Mery sur Seine, his constable\*, who commanded always the van battalion, advanced and came before St. Florentin†, which was under the command of sir Odoart de Renty; and, after having displayed his banner, (which was blazoned, or and azure, a chief pally, and at each of the two corners girones, and an escutcheon argent in the midst of the shield,) before the gate of the fortrefs, made a fierce attack on it, but in vain. The king of England and his whole army came and took up their quarters at Saint Florentin and the neighbourhood, on the banks of the river Armançon‡.

When they marched from thence, they came before Tonnerre§, which was so briskly attacked, the town was won, but not the castle. The English, however, found in that town upwards of three thousand tons of wine, which were of great service to them.

---

\* Roger earl of Mortimer. See more of him and his arms, in Ashmole, p. 692.

Mr. Lodge says, the arms of Mortimer have puzzled heralds at all times: but the terms heralds now use in blazoning the arms of Mortimer are these; 'Barry of six or and azure, an inescutcheon argent; on a chief of the first three pallets of the second, between two girones or.'

† St. Florentin—situated on the Armançon, thirteen leagues from Troyes.

‡ In the printed copies it is Moufon, but in my MSS. Armançon.

§ Tonnerre,—situated on the Armançon, diocese of Langres.

At this period, the lord de Fiennes, constable of France, was in the city of Auxerre\* with a number of men at arms.

---

#### CHAP. CCVIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND, AFTER HE HAD RAISED THE SIEGE OF RHEIMS, WASTES AND DESTROYS ALL THE COUNTRIES HE PASSES THROUGH.— HE COMES TO GUILLON, WHERE HE REMAINS.—GREAT QUANTITIES OF PROVISION FOLLOW THE ARMY.

THE king of England and his army remained five days in Tonnerre, on account of the good wines he found there. The castle was often assaulted; but it was well provided with men at arms, commanded by sir Baldwin d'Annequin, master of the cross-bows. When they had well reposed and refreshed themselves in Tonnerre, they marched off, and crossed the river Armançon. The king of England left the road to Auxerre on his right hand, and took that which leads to Noyers†: his intentions were to enter Burgundy and pass his Lent there. He and his whole army marched above Noyers; but he would not suffer any attack to be made on it, as the lord of it was his prisoner since the battle of Poitiers. They marched on for their

---

\* It is Dampierre in the printed copies. Denys Sauvage thinks it ought to have been Auxerre. It is Auxerre in my

† town in Burgundy, on the river Serin, diocese

quarters to a town called Montroyal\*, situated on a river called Sellettes; and, when the king left it, he went up that river, and proceeded straight to take possession of his lodging at Guillon†, which is also on its banks; for one of his squires called John d'Alençon, who bore for his arms a scutcheon argent in a field azur, had taken the town of Flavigny‡ in its neighbourhood, and had found within it a sufficiency of provision for the whole army for a month. This was very fortunate, as the king remained there from the night of Ash-Wednesday until Mid-lent. His marshals and light troops scoured the country round, burning and destroying it, and frequently bringing to the army fresh provisions.

I must inform you, that the king of England and his rich lords were followed by carts laden with tents, pavilions, mills and forges, to grind their corn and make shoes for their horses, and every thing of that sort which might be wanting. For this purpose there were upwards of six thousand carts, each of them drawn by four good and strong horses which had been transported from England. Upon these carts also were many vessels and small boats, made surprisingly well of boiled leather: they were large enough to contain three men, to

---

\* I cannot find Montroyal, nor the river Sellettes, in the Gazetteer.

† Guillon,—a town in Brugundy, in the bailiwick of Avalon.

‡ Flavigny,—a town of Burgundy, situated near the Ozerain, bailiwick of Semur-en-Auxois.

enable them to fish any lake or pond, whatever might be its size : and they were of great use to the lords and barons during Lent : but the commonalty made use of what provisions they could get.

The king had, besides, thirty falconers on horseback, laden with hawks; sixty couple of strong hounds, and as many greyhounds; so that every day he took the pleasure of hunting or fishing either by land or water. Many lords had their hawks and hounds as well as the king.

Their army was always in three divisions, and each person kept to his division : there was also a van-guard to every one of them, and their quarters were one league distant from each other, the king being with the third and largest division. This order was constantly kept on their march from Calais, until they came before the town of Chartres.

During the time the king of England remained at Guillon, where he was living on the provision which John d'Alençon had found in Flavigny, his thoughts were employed in devising means to keep and maintain himself in France. The young Duke of Burgundy and his council, at the request of his subjects, sent to the king divers lords and knights, as ambassadors to treat with him, so that the duchy of Burgundy should not be destroyed or pillaged. The under-named lords accepted this commission : first the lord Anselme de Sallins, great chancellor of Burgundy, sir James de Vienne, sir John Derie, sir Hugh de Vienne, sir William de Thoroise and sir John de Montmartin.

These



These lords managed the affair so well, and found the king of England in such good humour, that a treaty was soon entered into between them; and a composition was made, that for three years no part of the duchy of Burgundy should be overrun, on condition of having 200,000 livres paid down\*. When this treaty was finished and sealed, the king and his whole army dislodged, and set out on his return, taking the straight road for Paris, fixing his quarters at Avalon† upon the river Cousin, below Vezelay‡.

The quarters of his army extended from the river Yonne as far as Clamecy§, to the entrance of the county of Nevers. The English entered Gatinois; and the king made such forced marches that he came so near Paris as to take up his quarters within two short leagues of it, at Bourg la Reine. As he and his army passed through the country, they destroyed it on all sides. On the other hand, the garrisons which he had in Picardy, Beauvoisis, the Isle of France, Champagne and Brie, carried on a continual war, and ruined the country.

The king of Navarre resided in Normandy, and made a cruel war against France, insomuch that that

---

\* See this treaty in Rymer, anno. 1360. The sum was 200,000 moutons,—50,000 to be paid at the ensuing feast of St. John the Baptist, 100,000 at Christmas, and 50,000 at Easter.

† Avalon, a town of Burgundy, on the Cousin, which falls into the Yonne.

‡ Vezelay, a town in Nivernois, diocese of Autun, four leagues from Clamecy.

§ Clamecy,—a small city of the Nivernois, diocese of Auxerre, on the conflux of the Yonne and Beuvron.

noble kingdom was so grievously oppressed, it did not know which way to turn itself.

But above all, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt was the most active: his quarters were at Cheny sur Aisne, where he had a strong garrison of soldiers and men at arms, who overran, pillaged and ransomed the good county of Rethel, from Donchery to Mezieres, and as far as Cheine le Pouilleux and Stenay\*, in the county of Bay†. They quartered themselves wherever they chose in all that country, for two or three nights, without opposition from any one, and then returned unmolested to their garrison at Cheny, to refresh and recruit themselves.

It is true indeed, that all the neighbouring lords, knights and squires threatened them much: they met together, and appointed different days for their assembling, to take the field and besiege sir Eustace in his castle of Cheny; but nothing in fact was done.

It happened that these adventurers (whose whole thoughts, night and day, were occupied on the best means of taking towns, and in what parts of the country they should find most to pillage) came one night to a good town with a strong castle, situated in the Laonois‡, tolerably near to Montagu§, and in a very deep marshy country, the name of which

---

\* Stenay,—in the diocese of Treves, on the Meuse.

† I cannot find, in any dictionary, the county of Bay. It is Bay in Denys Sauvage. Stenay is in the diocese of Treves: but even the connection of names is so wide, I cannot suppose it to be a mistake for Treves.

‡ Laonois,—in Picardy.

§ Montagu,—in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

was Pierrepont\*. At this time, there were in it a great many people of the country, who had carried thither their goods, trusting to the strength of the place. When sir Eustace's companions arrived, the guard was asleep: they marched, therefore, through the deep marshes with much loss, for their avarice urged them on, and they came to the walls of the town, which they entered without resistance, and robbed at their pleasure. They found in it more riches than in any other place; and, when it was day, they burnt the town, and returned to Cheny, well laden with booty.

---

CHAP. CCIX.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LAYS THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE UNDER GREAT TRIBULATION.—A CORDELIER FRIAR PROPHECIES.—THE ENGLISH PLACE AN AMBUSCADE FOR THOSE WHO SHOULD COME OUT OF PARIS.

**A**BOUT this period, a franciscan friar, full of knowledge and understanding, was at Avignon: his name was John de Rochetaillade: and pope Innocent VI. kept him a prisoner in the castle of Bagnoux, not only on account of the great prophecies he made of the times to come, chiefly and principally relating to the heads and prelates of the holy church, by reason of their pride and the expensive life they led, but also concerning the kingdom of

---

\* Pierrepont,—village of Picardy, diocese of Laon.

France, and the great lords of Christendom, for their heavy oppressions on the common people. The above-mentioned John was willing to prove all he said from the Apocalypse, and by the ancient books of the holy prophets, which were opened to him through the grace of the Holy Ghost, by which he uttered things that were difficult to be credited.

Some of the predictions he had made were seen to come to pass within the time, which he never could have foretold as a prophet but by means of the ancient Scriptures, and the Holy Spirit, that had given him the power of understanding these ancient prophecies, and of announcing to all Christians the year and time when they were to be fulfilled.

He made many books, full of much science and learning. One was written in the year 1346, which contained many marvellous things, difficult of belief, but of which some had come to pass already. When he was questioned concerning the war against France, he answered, that what they had seen was nothing to what was to happen; for there would be no peace until the realm of France was destroyed and ruined from one end to the other. This indeed happened afterwards; for that kingdom was completely spoiled at the time the friar had fixed, in the years 1356, 1357, 1358 and 1359; insomuch that none of its princes or gentlemen dared to shew themselves against those of the low estate collected from all parts, and who had arrived, one after the other, without leader or chief, whilst the country had not any means of resisting them. They elected

(as

(as you have before seen), in different parts of the country, captains from among themselves, to whom they paid obedience. The captains, when they enrolled any man in their companies, made certain agreements with them respecting their shares of booty and the ransoms of prisoners: they found so much pillage, that all the leaders became rich from the great wealth they amassed.

King Edward was lodged at Bourg la Reine, two short leagues from Paris, and his army in different parts between that and Montlhery\*. He sent from thence his heralds to the Duke of Normandy in Paris, who had with him a great number of men at arms, to offer him battle: but the duke would not accede to it. His messengers, therefore, returned without having done any thing. When the king found that his enemies would not venture out of Paris, he was mightily enraged: upon which that good knight, sir Walter Manny, stepped forth and besought his lord that he would permit him to make an excursion and assault as far as the barriers of Paris.

The king consented to his request, and named himself those knights that should accompany him. He made also many new knights on the occasion; among whom were, the lord Delawarre, the lord de Silvacier, sir Thomas Banaster†, sir William Tor-

---

\* Montlhery,—a town in the isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.

† Sir Thomas Banaster was afterwards elected knight of the garter in this king's reign. See his life in Anstis' History of the Garter, vol. ii. p. 153.

ceaux, sir Thomas le Despenfier, sir John Neville, sir Richard Doitmay, and many others. Colart d'Ambreticourt, son of sir Nicholas, would have been of the number; for the king was desirous of it, as he was attached to his person and squire of his body; but the young man excused himself, by saying he could not find his helmet.

Sir Walter Manny set out on his enterprise, and carried with him these new knights to skirmish and make an attack on the barriers of Paris. Many hard blows were given and received; for there were within the city several valiant knights and squires, who would willingly have sallied forth, if the Duke of Normandy had given his consent. They, however, guarded the gates and barriers so well that no damage was done to them. This skirmish lasted until twelve o'clock, and many were killed on both sides. Sir Walter then retreated with his people to their quarters, where they remained together that day and the following night. On the morrow, the king dislodged, and took the road to Menthery.

When the camp was breaking up, some English and Gascon knights planned the following enterprise. They thought, that as there were so many knights in Paris, some of them would sally out after them; and some young adventurers would endeavour to gain, by their valour, both honor and booty. They therefore placed two hundred picked men, well armed, in an old empty house, three leagues from Paris. The chiefs on the Gascon party were the captal de Buch, sir Aymery de Pommiers, the lord de Courton: on the English, the lord Neville,

Neville, the Lord Mowbray and sir Richard de Pontchardon.

These six knights were the leaders of this ambuscade.

When the French who were within Paris perceived that the king of England was decamping, some young knights collected together, and said among themselves; 'It will be a good thing for us to fall out secretly, and follow a while the army of England, to see if we cannot gain something.' They were all instantly of this opinion, so that sir Raoul de Coucy, sir Raoul de Ravenal, the lord de Monsault, the lord de Helay, the constable of Beauvais, le bègue de Villaines, the lord de Beauvillers, the lord of Ulbarin, sir Gauvain de Valouel, sir Flamant de Roye, sir Azelles de Cavilly, sir Peter de Fermoises, Peter de Savoises, and upwards of a hundred lances with them, sallied out well mounted, with a thorough good will to do something; but they must first find the occasion. They took the road to Bourg la Reine, which they passed, and gained the open fields, when they followed the track of the cavalry and army of England, and rode beyond the ambuscade of the capital and his company.

They were no sooner passed than the English and Gascons marched out of it, after them, with their lances in their rests, shouting their war-cry. The French turned about, wondering who they could be: but they soon found they were their enemies. They immediately halted, and drew themselves up in battle-array, and, with couched spears, prepared

to meet the English and Gascons, who soon joined them. At this first onset many were unhorsed on each side, for both parties were well mounted. After this tilting-bout, they drew their swords, and attacking each other more closely, many hard blows were given, and many gallant deeds performed.— This attack lasted a considerable time, and the ground was so well disputed, that it was difficult to say which of the two would be conquerer. The capital de Buch shone particularly, and did with his hand many deeds worthy so good a knight. In the end, however, the English and Gascons fought so valiantly, that the field remained to them: they were more than half as many again as the French.

The lord of Campreny shewed himself a valiant knight on the side of the French, and fought gallantly under his banner, the bearer of which was slain: his banner was argent, a buckle gules, between six martlets sable, three above and three below. The lord of Campreny was made prisoner. The other French knights and squires, who saw the ill success of their attempt, and that they could not recover themselves, took the road toward Paris, fighting as they retreated, and the English pursuing them most eagerly. In this retreat, which continued beyond Bourg la Reine, nine knights, as well bannerets as others, were made prisoners; and, if the English and Gascons who pursued them had not been afraid that others might fall out of Paris to their assistance, not one would have escaped being d or taken.

When



When this enterprize was finished, they returned towards Montlhery, where the king was. They carried their prisoners with them, to whom they behaved very courteously, and ransomed them handsomely that same evening, allowing them to return to Paris, or wherever else they chose, taking readily their word of honour as sufficient security for their ransom.

The intention of the king of England was to enter the fertile country of Beauce, and follow the course of the Loire all the summer, to recruit and refresh his army in Brittany until after August; and as soon as the vintage was over, which from all appearances promised to be abundant, he meant to return again and lay siege to France, that is to say to Paris; for he wished not to return to England, as he had so publicly declared, on setting out, his determination to conquer that kingdom, and to leave garrisons of those who were carrying on the war for him in France, in Poitou, Champagne, Ponthieu, Vimeu, Valgueffin\*, in Normandy, and throughout the whole kingdom of France, except in those cities and towns which had voluntarily submitted to him.

The duke of Normandy was at this time at Paris with his two brothers, their uncle the duke of Orleans and all the principal counsellors of state, who, well aware of the courage of the king of England, and how he pillaged and impoverished the whole

---

\* Most probably Vexin. Vexin Norman is bounded on one side by the Seine.

realm of France, knew also that his situation could not last, for the rents both of the nobles and clergy were generally unpaid. At this period, a very wise and valiant man was chancellor of France, whose name was sir William\* de Montagu, bishop of Therouenne: by his advice the kingdom was governed: every part of it profited from his good and loyal counsel. Attached to him were two clerks of great prudence: one was the abbot of Clugny, the other friar Symon de Langres, principal of the predicant monks, and doctor in divinity. These two clerks just named, at the request and command of the duke of Normandy and his brothers, the duke of Orleans their uncle, and of the whole of the great council, set out from Paris with certain articles of peace. Sir Hugh de Geneve, lord of Autun, was also their companion. They went to the king of England, who was overrunning Beauce, near to Gallardon†.

These two prelates and the knight had a parley with the king of England, when they began to open a treaty of peace with him and his allies. To this treaty the duke of Lancaster, the prince of Wales, the earl of March‡, and many other barons were summoned. However, this treaty was not con-

---

\* The president Henault calls him Gilles Aycefin de Montagu, cardinal and bishop of Therouenne, vol. i. 4to, p. 263.

† Gallardon,—a town in Beauce, diocese and election of Chartres.

‡ This is a mistake, for the earl of March was killed a month prior to this treaty, the 26th of February, at Roузvay —Barnes.

cluded,

cluded, though it was discussed for a long time: The king of England kept advancing into the country, seeking for those parts where was the greatest abundance. The commissioners, like wise men, never quitted the king, nor suffered their proposals to drop; for they saw the kingdom in such a miserable situation, that the greatest danger was to be apprehended if they should suffer another summer to pass without peace.

On the other hand, the king of England insisted on such conditions as would have been so very grievous and prejudicial to France, that the commissioners, in honor, could not assent to them: so that their treaties and conferences lasted seventeen days, the two prelates and the lord of Autun constantly following the king of England: this last was much listened to at the court of the king.— They sent every day, or every other day, their treaties and minutes to the duke of Normandy and his brothers at Paris, that they might see what state they were in, and have answers thereto; as well as to know in what manner they were to act. All these papers were attentively examined and considered privately in the apartments of the duke of Normandy, and then the full intentions of the duke were written down, with the opinions of his council to these commissioners: by which means, nothing passed on either side without being fully specified and examined most cautiously. These aforesaid Frenchmen were in the king's apartments, or in his lodgings, as it happened, in the different places he halted at, as well on his march towards Chartres

as

as otherwise ; and they made great offers, to bring the war to a conclusion ; but the king was very hard to treat with : for his intention was, to be in fact king of France, although he had never been so, to die with that rank, and also to put Brittany, Blois and Touraine in the same situation as those other provinces where he had garrisons. If his cousin the duke of Lancaster, whom he much loved and confided in, had not persuaded him to give up such ideas, and advised him to listen to the offers of peace, he never would have come to any terms.— He very wisely remonstrated with him, and said ; ‘ My lord, this war which you are carrying on in the kingdom of France is wonderful to all men, and not too favourable to you. Your people are the only real gainers by it ; for you are wasting your time. Considering every thing, if you persist in continuing the war, it may last you your life ; and it appears to me doubtful if you will ever succeed to the extent of your wishes. I would recommend therefore, whilst you have the power of closing it honorably, to accept the proposals which have been offered to you ; for, my lord, we may lose more in one day than we have gained in twenty years.’

These prudent and sensible words, which the duke of Lancaster uttered loyally, and with the best intentions, to advise the king of England to his good, converted the king to his opinion, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, who also worked to the same effect : for an accident befel him and all his army, who were then before Chartres, that much humbled him, and bent his courage.

**During**

During the time that the French commissioners were passing backwards and forwards from the king to his council, and unable to obtain any favourable answer to their offers, there happened such a storm and violent tempest of thunder and hail, which fell on the English army, that it seemed as if the world was come to an end. The hailstones were so large as to kill men and beasts, and the boldest were frightened.

The king turned himself towards the church of Our Lady at Chartres, and religiously vowed to the virgin, as he has since confessed, that he would accept of terms of peace. He was at this time lodged in a small village, near Chartres, called Bretigny; and there were then committed to writing, certain rules and ordinances for peace, upon which the following articles were drawn out. To follow up this, and more completely to treat of it, the counsellors and lawyers of the king of England drew up a paper called the Charter of Peace, with great deliberation and much prudence, the tenor of which follows.

---

CHAP. CCX.

THE FORM AND TENOR OF THE PAPER DRAWN  
UP AS ARTICLES OF THE PEACE, WHICH WAS  
CONCLUDED BEFORE CHARTRES, BETWEEN THE  
KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

**E**DWARD, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. As, in  
confe-

consequence of the diffensions, variance, discord and strife, that have arisen, or that might have been expected to arise between us and our very dear brother the king of France, certain commissioners and procurators from us and from our dear son, Edward prince of Wales, having sufficient power and authority for us, for him and for our kingdom on the one part, and certain other commissioners and procurators from our said brother, and from our very dear nephew Charles duke of Normandy and dauphin of Vienne, eldest son to the aforesaid king of France, having power and authority from his father, in this instance, for his father and for himself on the other part, have been assembled at Bretigny, near Chartres; in which place the above-mentioned diffensions, variances and strife were discussed, debated, and finally closed; and the commissioners from us and from our son, for us and for him, and the commissioners from our aforesaid brother and nephew, for his father and for himself, did swear upon the holy evangelists, to preserve, keep and fulfil the aforesaid treaty, as we have also sworn and will swear to whatever is said or concluded in the above treaty.

And in this treaty, among other articles, our brother of France and his son aforesaid, are held and have promised to give up and surrender to us, our heirs and successors for ever, the counties, cities, towns, castles, fortresses, lands, islands, rents, and revenues, and other things which follow, with all that we are now in possession of in Guienne and Gascony, to hold for ever by us, our heirs and sons, in the same manner that the kings of France

France have always held them; that which is in demesne in demesne, and that which is in fief in fief, in such manner as will be hereafter explained; that is to say, the city, castle and county of Poitiers, with all the lands and country of Poitou, together with the fief of Thouars\* and the lands of Belleville†: the town and castle of Saintes, and all the lands and territory of the county of Saintonge on each side the river Charente, with the town and fortress of la Rochelle, their appurtenances and appendages; the city and castle of Agen, and the country of Agenois: the city, town, castle, and all the lands of Perigord, with the whole country of Perigueux: the city and castle of Limoges and country of Limousin: the city and castle of Cahors and country of Cahorsin: the city, castle and country of Tarbes; the territory of the country of Bigorre: the country and lands of Gaure: the city and castle of Angoulême, with all the country of Angoumois: the city and castle of Rodais, and the county and country of Rouergue: and if there should be any lords in the duchy of Guienne (such as the count de Foix, the count de Armagnac, the count de l'Isle, the viscount de Carmain, the count de Perigord, the viscount de Limoges or others,) that hold any lands within the boundaries of the above-mentioned places, they shall be bounden to do us homage, and all other

---

\* Thouars,—an ancient city on a hill, and on the river Thoue, sixteen leagues from Poitiers.

† Belleville. There are two villages in Poitou of this name,—one near Niort, the other near les Sables d'Olonne.

services and duties due on account of their lands and places in the same manner as they formerly have performed them; and we shall re-enter upon all that we, or any other kings of England have possessed, as well as upon these places whence we formerly had received nothing.

The viscounty of Montreuil sur mer has been also promised to be given up to us in the same manner as in former times, and all whatsoever we or any other king of England possessed there: and whereas there have arisen disputes relative to the division of this territory, our brother of France has promised, that he will declare it to be ours as speedily as possible after his return to France.

Item, it is also promised that the county of Ponthieu shall be delivered over to us entire, save and except that if any part of it should have been alienated by the kings of England who reigned before us, and were formerly possessors of it and its appurtenances, to others than the kings of France, neither our aforesaid brother, nor his successors, shall be bounden to surrender them: and if the said alienations have been made to any former kings of France, immediately, without passing through a third person, and our aforesaid brother be in possession of them, he shall render them wholly up to us; excepting that if the kings of France have had them from us in exchange for other lands, we will deliver up such lands so exchanged: but if any of the kings of England at former times should have alienated or disposed of any parts to others than to the France, and it should afterwards have come into



into the hands of our aforefaid brother, he fhall not be obliged to furrender them: and if the parts aforefaid owe homage to us, or our fucceffors, he fhall grant them to others, who will pay us that homage; but, if they do not owe homage, he fhall then give them to a tenant that fhall do us fuit and fervice, within the year enfuing upon our departure from Calais.

Item, the caſtle and town of Calais; the caſtle, town and lordſhip of Merle; the towns, caſtles and lordſhips of Sangate, Couloigne, Ham, Walles and Oye, with the lands, woods, marſhes, rivers, rents, lordſhips, advowſons of churches, and all other appurtenances and places lying within the limits and bounds following; that is to ſay, from Calais to the courſe of the river before Gravelines, and alſo by the courſe of the river which falls into the great lake of Guines, as far as Fretun, and from thence by the valley round the mountain of Chalk, incloſing that mountain, and as far as the ſea, including Sangate and all its appurtenances.

Item, the king of England ſhall alſo poſſeſs the caſtle, town, and the whole county of Guines, with all its caſtles, towns, fortrefſes, woods, lands, men, homages, lordſhips, foreſts, rights, as completely as the laſt count of Guines, lately deceased, held it during his life: and the churches and good men, being within the boundaries of the ſaid county and other places above mentioned, ſhall obey him in the ſame manner as they did our aforefaid brother, the count of Guines, for that time. All theſe things comprehended in the preſent article, and in the preceding

ceding one of Merle and Calais, we shall hold in demesne, excepting the inheritances and possessions of the churches, which shall remain wholly to the said churches wherever they may be situated; and also except the inheritances of the other people of the countries of Merle and Calais, as far as the value of one hundred pounds a-year in land, according to the current coin of the country; which inheritances shall remain to them of the abovesaid value and under; but the habitations and inheritances in the town of Calais, and their appurtenances, shall remain in demesne to us, for us to order and do as we please with them: and also all the possessions of the householders and inhabitants of the county and town of Guines shall remain to them, and shall be restored fully, save and except what is said and declared relative to the bounds and frontiers above mentioned, in the article of Calais.

Item, the king of England shall have possession of all islands adjoining to the lands or places above mentioned, together with all other islands he was possessed of at the time of this treaty.

And it has also been discussed, that our aforesaid brother and his eldest son should renounce all right and sovereignty which they may have over the above mentioned places, and that we should possess them as a neighbour, without any vassalage or dependence on our said brother, or on the kingdom of France; and that our brother aforesaid shall give up to us in perpetuity all right and dominion he may have over the places before men-

And

And it has also been discussed, that in like manner we and our said son shall expressly renounce all those things that are not to be given up and surrendered to us by the said treaty, more especially the name of king of France, and all right and title to that kingdom, and to the homage, sovereignty and domain of the duchy of Normandy, the county of Touraine, and the counties of Anjou and Maine; and to the sovereignty and homage of the county of Flanders; and to the sovereignty and homage of the duchy of Brittany (excepting the right of the count de Montfort, and what claim he may have on that duchy and country of Brittany, which we reserve, and by express words put out of our treaty; saving, however, that when we and our aforesaid brother shall come to Calais, we will so manage the business, by the advice of able counsellors and other deputies, that we will establish peace and concord between the count de Montfort and our cousin fir Charles de Blois, who claims and challenges the inheritance of Brittany): and we renounce whatever claims we made, or may have made, of any sort whatever, except those things above mentioned which are to be given to us and our heirs; and we give up and cease from making any claims on all other things, but those which are to be yielded to us.

Upon this subject, after many altercations had taken place, ending in a mutual agreement that these renunciations, transportations, cessions and aforesaid surrenderings should be made as soon as our said brother shall have given up to us, or to our people especially deputed for that purpose, the city

and castle of Poitiers, with all the territory of Poitou, together with the fief of Thouars and of Belleville : the city and castle of Agen, with all the territory of the Agenois ; the city and castle of Perigord, with the territory of Perigueux ; the city and castle of Cahors, with the territory of Cahorsin ; the city and castle of Rodais, with the territory of Rouergue ; the city and castle of Saintes, with the territory of Saintonge ; the city and castle of Limoges, with all the territory of Limousin ; and that which we or other kings of England have held in the town of Montreuil sur mer, with its appurtenances. Item, the whole county of Ponthieu, save and except the contents of the article contained in the said treaty which makes mention of the said county. Item, the castle and town of Calais ; the castle, town and lordship of Sangate, Colloigne, Ham, Walles, Oye, with the lands, rivers, marshes, rents, woods, lordships and other things mentioned in the article respecting them. Item, the castle, town and entire county of Guines, with all the lands, castles, towns, fortresses, places, men, homages, woods, lordships, forests and rights, according to the tenor of the article which in the treaty makes fuller mention of them, and with the islands adjacent to the said lands, countries and places before mentioned, together with those other islands which we are now in the possession of (that is to say, at the date of this article and of the peace.) We, and our brother the king of France, have promised by faith and oath to each other to preserve and keep this treaty and maintain ~~e, and to do nothing against it ;~~ and we are bounden,

bounden, us and our said brother the king of France, and our eldest sons before mentioned, by obligation and promise and by faith and oath to each other pledged, to make certain renunciations one to the other according to the form and tenor of the aforesaid article of peace.

Item, It is agreed, that the king of France and his eldest son the regent, for them and for their heirs for ever, shall as soon as possible, and without any double dealing, at the latest within the feast of St. Michael next ensuing, deliver up and give to the king of England, his heirs and successors, and convey to them the honors, royalties, services, homages, allegiances, vassalages, fiefs, obediences, acknowledgments, oaths, rights, seizures, and all manner of jurisdictions, both criminal and civil, appeals, securities, lordships and sovereignties which appertained, now appertain, or may hereafter appertain to the kings or to the crown of France, or to any other person on account of the king or for the aforesaid crown of France, in whatever time it may have been, in the cities, towns, castles, fortresses, islands, countries and places before named, or in any one of them, their appurtenances and appendages, wherever they may be, whether held by princes, dukes, counts, viscounts, archbishops, bishops, abbots or other prelates of the church, barons, knights, nobles or others whomsoever, without reserve to themselves, their heirs and successors, or to the crown of France, or to any other person whatever: nor shall they challenge or demand, at any future period, any thing of the above

from the king of England, his heirs or successors, or from any one of his vassals or subjects aforesaid, in any one of the places or countries before mentioned, in behalf of the king or crown of France. Thus, therefore, all the before named persons, and their heirs and successors, shall be liege men and subjects of the king of England, his heirs and successors for ever; and they shall hold and keep all persons, cities, counties, lands, islands, castles and places before mentioned, with all their appurtenances and appendages, and shall remain fully and peaceably for ever in their lordship, sovereignty, obedience, loyalty and subjection, as the preceding kings of France had and kept them in former times: and the aforesaid king of England, his heirs and successors, shall and will maintain, peaceably and perpetually, all the countries before named in full freedom and liberty for ever, as sovereign and liege lord, and neighbour to the king of France and said kingdom of France, without acknowledging any sovereignty or paying any obedience, homage, jurisdiction or subjection, and in time to come without doing any service or acknowledgment to the king or crown of France for the cities, counties, castles, lands, territories, islands, places and persons before named, or for any one of them.

Item, it is agreed, that the king of France and his eldest son shall expressly renounce the said jurisdictions and sovereignties, and all those things which by this present treaty ought to belong to the king of England; and in like manner, the king of England and his eldest son shall renounce all those things

things which by this present treaty are not to be granted to the king of England, and all those claims he made on the king of France, and particularly the title, right and arms, and the challenge he made of the crown and kingdom of France; the homage, sovereignty and domain of the duchy of Normandy, of the county of Touraine, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the sovereignty and homage of the county and territory of Flanders, and all other claims which the king of England made at the time of the aforesaid challenge, and might make in times to come upon the said realm of France, through any reason whatever, except those things which by the present treaty are granted to the king of England and his heirs: and they will convey, surrender and yield, one king to the other, in perpetuity, all the right which each has or may have on all those things and places which by the present treaty are to remain or to be granted to each of them; and with regard to the time and place when these renunciations are to be made, the two kings will consult each other, and order it when they shall be at Calais together.

And because also our said brother of France and his eldest son, in order to maintain and keep the said articles of peace and agreement aforesaid, have expressly renounced the jurisdictions and sovereignties comprised in the said articles to all rights which they had or might have had on all the above mentioned things which our said brother has granted, delivered and abandoned to us, and in those other things which henceforward ought to appertain and belong



to us by the said treaty of peace. We, among these said things, renounce expressly all those which are not to be granted to us, for ourselves and our heirs, and all those claims which we made or might make on our said brother of France, and especially to the title and right to the crown of France and the sovereignty of that kingdom; and to the homage, sovereignty and domain of the duchy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou, Maine and Touraine: and to the sovereignty and homage of the county and territory of Flanders; and all other claims which we made, or might have made, on our said brother, for whatever cause there might be, save and except that which by this present treaty is to remain to us and our heirs; and we yield, abandon and give up to him, and he to us, mutually to each other, in the securest way we can, all the rights which each of us may have, or may have had in all those things, which by the said treaty are to be respectively granted to each of us; reserving to the churches and to churchmen that which appertains or may appertain to them; and all that which has been occupied or detained of their property, on account of the wars, shall be made good and restored to them. The towns, fortresses, and all dwellings of the inhabitants, shall retain and enjoy such liberties and franchises as before they came into our hands; and, if required, they shall be confirmed by our said brother of France, if not contrary to what has been already agreed on.

And with regard to ourselves, we submit all things belonging to us, our heirs and successors, to the  
juris-



jurisdiction and coercion of the church of Rome, and are willing and desirous that our holy father the pope should confirm all these things by giving monitions and gentle mandates for the accomplishment of them against ourselves, our heirs and successors, our commonalty, colleges, universities, or any particular persons whatsoever, and by giving general sentences of excommunication, suspension or interdict, which we may incur by ourselves or by them, by this act, when we shall, either by ourselves or others, infringe the peace, by taking or occupying any town or castle, city or fortress, or in any thing else, by giving advice, aid or assistance, public or private, against the said peace: from which sentences they cannot be absolved until they shall have made full satisfaction to all those who by this act should have sustained or might sustain any damage. And with this we desire and consent, that by our holy father the pope (in order that the said may more firmly be kept, maintained and observed for ever) all the agreements, confederations, alliances and conventions, under whatever name they may be, in case they become prejudicial or inimical to the said peace in the present moment or hereafter (supposing they were closed under penalties and by oaths, and confirmed by our holy father the pope or others), should be broken and annulled as contrary to the public welfare, to the good of the peace, unprofitable to all Christendom, and displeasing to God: and that all oaths, in such a case made, shall be reported to our holy father the pope, that it may be decreed by him that no one should be bounden

to keep such oaths or conventions; and if, in fact, any one attempted to act contrary, they shall from this moment be broken and annulled, and of no weight: nevertheless we shall punish such by corporal punishment and confiscations, as violators of the peace, if the case should require it, or it should appear reasonable: and if we should encourage or suffer any thing to be done hurtful to the peace (which God forbid), we are willing to be counted as liars and disloyal, and also to suffer in this case such blame and disrepute, as a sacred king ought to undergo for such conduct: and we swear upon the body of JESUS CHRIST to conclude, maintain and keep the aforesaid treaty, and neither by ourselves nor others to depart from it for any cause or reason whatsoever. And in order that these premises may be concluded and maintained, we bind ourselves, our heirs, our property, and the property of our heirs, over to our said brother the king of France, and to his heirs, and swear by the holy evangelists, bodily touched by us, that we will complete, conclude and preserve (according to the articles aforesaid) all the preceding conditions by us promised and agreed to, as is before mentioned. And we will, that in case our brother, or his deputies at the place and time, and in the manner before stated, do his duty, that from that time our present letters, and whatever is comprehended in them, should have as much force, effect and vigour as any of our other letters shall have that have been promised and granted by us, as has been already said; saving, however, and reserving for us, our heirs and successors,

cessors, that the letters above incorporated shall have no effect, nor be of any prejudice or damage until our said brother and nephew shall have performed, sent and given the above renunciations in the manner before specified; and therefore they shall not avail themselves of them against us, our heirs and successors, in any manner but in the case above mentioned.

In testimony of which, we have caused our seal to be put to these present letters, given at Calais this twentieth day of October, in the year of grace and of our Lord one thousand three hundred and sixty.

When this private charter (which is called letter of renunciation, as well from one king as the other) was written, engrossed and sealed, it was read and published generally in the council chamber, when the two above named kings were present with their counsellors. It appeared to each to be handsome, good, well dictated and well ordered; and then again the two said kings and their two said eldest sons, swore upon the holy Evangelists, bodily touched by them, and upon the sacred body of JESUS CHRIST, to conclude, keep and maintain, and not to infringe any of the articles included in it.

Afterwards, by the advice and deliberation of the king of France and his council, and towards the end of the conference, the king of England was requested to make out and give a general commission to all those who for the time, and under shadow of the war, held towns, castles and forts in the kingdom of France, that they may have knowledge of  
what

what had passed, with orders to give them up and quit them. The king of England, who was sincerely desirous of maintaining a good understanding and peace between himself and the king of France his brother, as he had before sworn and promised, readily acceded to this request, which he thought reasonable. He ordered his people to make it out in the clearest manner they could, to the satisfaction of the king of France and his council. The most able of the counsellors of the two kings aforesaid united, and then was drawn up, written and engrossed by the advice of each other, a commission, the tenor of which is underneath.

Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all our captains, governors of towns and castles, adherents and allies, being in parts of France, as well in Picardy, in Burgundy, in Anjou, in Berry, in Normandy, in Brittany, in Auvergne, in Champagne, or Maine, in Touraine, and within the boundaries and limits of France, greeting. As peace and concord is now established between us, our allies and adherents on the one part, and our dear brother the king of France, his allies and adherents on the other part, in regard to all quarrels or discords which we may have had in times past; and having sworn upon the body of JESUS CHRIST, as well our dear eldest son and others our children, and those of our blood, as likewise many prelates, barons and knights, and the principal men of our kingdom; and also our said brother, and our nephew the duke of Normandy, and our other nephews his children, with many barons,

barons, knights and prelates of the said kingdom of France, to maintain and firmly keep the peace: and as it may fall out or happen that some warriors from our kingdom, or other of our subjects, may endeavour to do or undertake things contrary to the said peace by taking or detaining forts, towns, cities and castles, or in pillaging and arresting persons, and taking from them their goods, merchandise or other things, acting against the said peace (the which will highly displease us, and we cannot nor will not suffer it, nor pass it over under any sort of dissembling.) We, willing to remedy these aforesaid things with all our power, wish, desire and ordain, by the deliberation of our council, that none of our subjects or allies, whatever their state or condition may be, do, or endeavour to do, any thing contrary to the said peace, by pillaging, taking or detaining forts, persons or goods of any sort in the kingdom of France, or belonging to our said brother, his subjects, allies or adherents whomsoever. And in case there should be found any one that acts contrary to this said peace, and who does not cease from so doing, nor renders back the damages he may have committed within the space of one month from the time he shall be required so to do by any of our officers, serjeants or public persons, for this act alone, without other suit or condemnation, he shall be reputed banished from our realm and from our protection, as well as from the kingdom and territories of our said brother; all his goods confiscated and subjected to our governance; and if he should be found in our kingdom, we command and expressly

precisely will, that punishment should be inflicted on him, as a rebel and traitor to us according to the customary punishment for leze majesté, without any pardon, grace or remission: and we will that the same be done to our subjects, of whatever condition they may be, who, in our kingdom on either side of the sea, shall seize, occupy or detain any forts whatever contrary to the will of those to whom they belong; or who shall burn or ransom towns or persons, and shall pillage or be guilty of robberies, or who shall stir up wars within our realm against our subjects.

We therefore order, command and expressly enjoin all our seneschals, bailiffs, provosts, captains of castles or others our officers, under pain of incurring our high displeasure, and of losing their offices, that they proclaim, or cause to be proclaimed, these presents in the most public places of their districts, bailiwicks, provostships and castlewicks; and that no one, after having seen and heard this proclamation, remain in any fort which belongs to the kingdom of France, except according to the tenor of the treaty of peace, under pain of being considered as an enemy to us and to our aforesaid brother the king of France; and that they, in all the aforesaid points, conform to, preserve and make to be strictly observed in every particular. And be it known to all, that if they fail, or are negligent, in addition to the punishment aforesaid, we will make them pay the losses to all those who through their fault or neglect may have been aggrieved, or suffered any loss; and with this we will punish them in such a manner that

that they shall be an example to all others: in testimony whereof, we have had these letters patent drawn up, given at Calais the 24th day of October, in the year of grace and of our Lord 1360.

---

CHAP. CCXI.

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE TWO KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND, WHEN AT CALAIS, RESPECTING THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY AND SOME LANDS OF THE LATE GODFREY DE HARCOURT.—KING JOHN SETS OUT FROM CALAIS AND RETURNS HOME IN FREEDOM.

**W**HEN all these letters had been drawn up, and the different commissions delivered, which were mutually done by the advice and to the satisfaction of each other, there was some conversation respecting sir Charles de Blois and sir John de Montfort, and the state of Brittany, for each of them claimed it as their right of inheritance: and though there was a conference holden, how these matters could be settled, nothing was definitively done; for, as I have since been informed, the king of England and his party had no great desire of agreeing to it.

They presumed, that henceforward all men at arms attached to them, would be obliged to surrender every fort and strong place which they at present held and possessed in the kingdom of France, and that they would retire to whatever parts they chose: it was therefore much better, and more  
pro-

profitable that these warriors and pillagers should retire into the duchy of Brittany, which is one of the richest and best foraging countries in the world, than that they should come to England, which might be pillaged and robbed by them.

This consideration made the English shortly break up the conference respecting Brittany. It was a pity, and ill done that it so happened; for, if the two kings had been in earnest, peace would have been established, by the advice of their counsellors, between the parties, and each would have held what should have been given him. Sir Charles de Blois would have recovered his children, who were prisoners in England, and probably have lived longer than he did. As nothing was done at this conference, the wars in Normandy were more bitterly carried on than before the peace we have just spoken of (as you will hear in the continuance of this history), and even between the knights and barons of Brittany who had supported different interests.

The duke of Lancaster (who was a valiant and discreet knight, full of devices, and who too strongly loved the count de Montfort and his advancement) then addressed himself to the king of France, in the presence of the king of England and the greater part of the counsellors; 'Sire, the truces of Brittany, which were made and agreed to before Rennes, will not expire before the first of the ensuing month of May: then, or within that time, the king our Lord will send, by the advice of his council, barons from him, and from his son-in-law the young duke,



duke, fir John de Montfort, to you in France, and they fhall have power and authority to explain and declare thofe rights the faid fir John claims from the inheritance of his father in the duchy of Brittany, and accept them in fuch manner as you, your counfellors and ours affembled together, fhall ordain; for greater fafety, it is proper the truces fhould be prolonged until the feaft of St. John the Baptift next enfuing.' All this was agreed to, as the duke of Lancafter had propofed, and then the lords converfed on different matters.

King John, who had a great defire to return to France (as was natural), testified moft heartily to the king of England every proof of that affection which he had for him and for his nephew the prince of Wales: the king of England made an equal return: and, for a ftronger confirmation of their friendship, the two kings (who by the articles called each other Brother), gave to four knights of each party eight thoufand francs, French money of revenue; that is to fay, two thoufand to each.

And becaufe the lands of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, in Coutantin, came to the king of England from fir Godfrey de Harcourt by the fale the faid fir Godfrey had made of them to the king, as has been before related in this hiftory, and that the faid lands were not included in the articles of peace, it was neceffary for thofe who fhould hold the faid lands to do homage and fervice to the king of France: the king of England, therefore, had referved and given it to fir John Chandos, who had done him and his children many notable fervices; and the king of France, through his great affection and love,

con-

firmed and sealed it, at the entreaty of the king of England, to the said sir John Chandos, as his right and lawful inheritance. It is a very fair estate, and worth full sixteen hundred francs of yearly rent.

In addition to these things, many other letters and alliances were made, of which I cannot relate the particulars; for, during the fifteen days or thereabouts, that the two kings, their children and their counsellors, were at Calais, there were every day conferences, and new ordinances made, strengthening and confirming the peace; and, moreover, other deeds were drawn up, without annulling or changing the former ones; and they were all made to one date, as more sure and certain, of which I have seen copies in the chanceries of the two kings.

When every thing relative to the peace had been so concluded and settled, that no one could think of any means to strengthen or amend it, and that nothing could be devised to add to the strong alliance between the two kings and their children, which bound them, and by which they had sworn to maintain the peace from being infringed, which was indeed kept, as you will hereafter see in reading this book; and that those who were to be the hostages for the redemption of the king of France were arrived at Calais, whom the king of England had sworn to guard in peace in England, until the six hundred thousand francs\* were paid to the depu-

---

\* This seems a mistake; for in the fourteenth article of the peace of Bretigny in 1360, in Rymer, particular men-  
tion

deputies of the king of England, that king gave to the king of France a most magnificent and grand supper in the castle of Calais: it was well arranged: and the children of the king, and the duke of Lancaster with the greatest barons of England waited bare headed.

After this supper, the two noble kings took final leave of each other in a most gracious and affectionate manner, and the king of France returned to his hôtel.

On the morrow, which was the vigil of St. Simon and St. Jude, the king of France set out from Calais, with all those of his party who were to accompany him\*. The king of France went on foot,

---

tion is made of the value of the crown, two of which shall be worth an English noble.

14th article.—‘ It is agreed that the king of France shall pay to the king of England three millions of *crowns of gold*, two of which shall be of the value of an English noble.

‘ And there shall be paid to the said king of England, or his deputies, six hundred thousand crowns at Calais, in fourteenths from the time the king of France shall be at Calais.

‘ And within the next year ensuing, there shall be paid four hundred thousand crowns of the above value, in the city of London.

‘ And from thenceforward, every following year, four hundred thousand crowns, like to the above, shall be paid in the said city, until such time as the aforesaid three millions shall be paid.’

According to Cotgrave, a noble in his time was worth fifteen shillings.

\* Froissart seems to have been mistaken as to the day king John left Calais, when he says it was the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, the 27th October; for in an ancient state of Brittany, by Nicholas Vignier, page 383, there is a letter from king John, dated Boulogne sur mer, October 26, 1360.

in pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne. The prince of Wales and his two brothers, Lionel and Edmund, accompanied him; and in this manner they arrived, before dinner, at Boulogne, where they were received with great joy. The duke of Normandy was there waiting for them, when all these aforesaid lords went on foot to the church of our Lady of Boulogne, where they made their offerings most devoutly, and afterwards returned to the abbey at Boulogne, which had been prepared for the reception of the king of France and the princes of England.

They remained there that day, and on the following night returned to the king their father.

All these lords crossed the sea together with the hostages from France: it was the vigil of All-Saints, in the year 1360.

It is proper that I should name the nobles of France who went to England as hostages for the king of France. First, sir Philip, duke of Orleans, son of the late king Philip of France; his two nephews, the dukes of Anjou and Berry: after them the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, sir John d'Estampes, Guy de Blois, for his brother the count Louis de Blois: the count de St. Pol, the count de Harcourt, the count dauphin of Auvergne; sir Enguerrant, lord of Coucy; sir John de Ligny; the count de Porcien, the count de Breme, the lord of Montmorency, the lord of Roye, the lord of Preaux, the lord d'Estouteville, the lord de Cleritez, the lord de St. Venant, the  
lord

lord de la Tour d'Auvergne, and many others, but I cannot name them all\*.

There were also from the good city of Paris, from Rouen, Rheims, Bourges in Berry, Tours in Touraine, Lyon upon the Rhône, Sens in Burgundy, Orleans, Troyes in Champagne, Amiens, Beauvais, Arras, Tournay, Caen in Normandy, St. Omer, L'Isle, Douay, from each city two or four burgesses, who all crossed the sea, and shortly arrived in London†.

The king of England commanded all his officers, under pain of incurring his displeasure, to behave courteously to all these lords and their attendants, and to preserve peace between them and his subjects, as they were under his special care.

The king's orders were strictly obeyed in every respect; and the hostages were allowed to enjoy themselves, without any danger or molesta-

\* In the fifteenth article, in Rymer, they are mentioned as underneath :

Monsieur Louis, comte d'Anjou ; M. Jean, comte de Poitiers ; le duc d'Orleans ; le duc de Bourbon ; le comte de Blois, ou son frere ; le comte d'Alençon, ou M. Pierre d'Alençon son frere ; le comte de St. Pol ; le comte de Harcourt ; le comte de Portien ; le comte de Valentinois ; le comte de Breteuil ; le comte de Vaudemont ; le comte de Forez ; le vicomte de Beaumont ; le sire de Couci ; le sire de Frenles ; le sire de Preaus ; le sire de St. Venant ; le sire de Gauntrines ; le dauphin d'Auvergne ; le sire de Hangest ; le sire de Montmorency ; monsieur Guillaume de Craon ; monsieur Louis de Harcourt ; monsieur Jean de Ligny.

† Châlons, Chartres, Toulouse, Compiègne, are mentioned, in addition to those of Froissart, in the treaty in Rymer.

tion, in the city of London and its neighbourhood. The lords followed the chase or hawking, according to their pleasure, and rode out as they pleased to visit the ladies without any constraint, for the king was right courteous and amiable.

We will now speak a little of the king of France on his arrival at Boulogne, after he had quitted Calais.

---



---

CHAP. CCXII.

COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED ON BOTH SIDES TO SEE THE GARRISONS IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE EVACUATED.—DIFFERENT BODIES OF ARMED MEN OVERRUN THE KINGDOM, AND DO MUCH MISCHIEF.

**T**HE king of France did not remain long at Boulogne, but set out soon after All-saints, and went to Montreuil and Hesdin: he continued his journey until he came to Amiens; and wherever he passed he was most magnificently and honorably received. After he had remained at Amiens until Christmas was passed, he set out for Paris, when he was solemnly and reverently met by all the clergy of Paris, and conducted to the palace\*, where he dis-

---

\* Palace.—I believe, the king of France's palace at that time was the hôtel de Nesle. I find, by Villaret's history, that he was lodged there after his coronation at Rheims.

This hôtel was built on the banks of the Seine, where the hôtel de Nevers was afterwards constructed, and nearly upon the

dismounted, as did fir Philip his son, and all the nobles who accompanied him. The dinner was grandly magnificent, and the tables well covered; but I can never tell how warmly the king of France was received on his return to his kingdom, by all sorts of people, for he was much wished for. They made him rich gifts and presents, and the prelates and barons of the realm feasted and entertained him, as became his condition; and the king gave them a most gracious reception.

Soon after king John was returned to France, the commissioners appointed by the king of England crossed the sea, to take possession of the lands, countries, counties, bailiwicks, cities, towns and castles, that were to be given up to him, according to the articles of the peace. But this was not so soon accomplished; for many of the nobles in Languedoc, at first absolutely refused to obey them, or to surrender themselves to the king of England, though the king of France had acquitted them of their fidelity and homage to him; for they thought it highly contrary and adverse to their interests to be obliged to obey the English. The count de la Marche, the count de Perigord, the count de Comminges, the viscount de Châtillon, the viscount de Carmaing, the lord of Pincornet, in particular, with many

---

the scite which the College Mazarine and the hôtel de Conti now occupy.

This hôtel must be distinguished from another hôtel de Nesle, which was built at the same time. This second hôtel de Nesle was situated on the spot where the hôtel de Soissons was built, and which was demolished 1747.

others in the distant countries wondered much that the king of France should force them from his jurisdiction. Others said, it was not in his power thus to free them ; and it was not his right so to do ; for, as they were Gascons, they had very old charters and privileges from the noble Charlemagne (who was king of France), which placed them under the jurisdiction of his court, and of no other. On which account, these lords would not at first yield obedience to the commissioners ; but the king of France, who wished to uphold and maintain what he had sworn and sealed, sent thither his dear cousin sir James de Bourbon, who appeased the greater part of these nobles ; and those who were bounden became liege men to the king of England ; such as the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and many others, who at the intreaties of the king of France and of sir James de Bourbon, obeyed, but very unwillingly.

On the other hand, it was very displeasing to the barons, knights and inhabitants of the towns on the sea coast, and in the country of Poitou, the Rochellois and all Saintonge, that they should be given up to the English : in particular those in the town of la Rochelle would not consent to it : they made frequent excuses, and would not, for upwards of a year, suffer any Englishman to enter their town. The letters were very affecting which they wrote to the king of France, beseeching him, by the love of God, that he would never liberate them from their fidelity, nor separate them from his government  
 place them in the hands of strangers ; for they  
 would



would prefer being taxed every year one half of what they were worth, rather than be in the hands of the English.

The king of France (who knew their good will and loyalty, and had frequently received their excuses) felt great pity for them; he wrote, therefore, very affectionate letters, and sent to inform them, that it was necessary they should obey, or otherwise the peace would be infringed, which would be too prejudicial to the kingdom of France.

When the inhabitants of la Rochelle received these letters, and saw the situation they were in, that neither excuses, prayers nor intreaties were of any avail, they obeyed; but it was fore against their inclinations. The principal persons of the town said, 'We will honor and obey the English, but our hearts shall never change.'

Thus had the king of England feisin and possession of the duchy of Aquitaine, the counties of Poitou and Guignes, and of all those lands which he was to have beyond the sea, that is to say in the kingdom of France, which were given to him by the articles of the peace. This year sir John Chandos crossed the sea, as regent and lieutenant of the king of England, to take possession of all the lands aforesaid; and receive the faith, fidelity and homage of the counts, viscounts, barons, knights, towns and castles: he instituted every where seneschals, bailiffs and officers, according to his will, and fixed his residence at Niort.

Sir John kept a noble and great establishment; and he had the means of doing it; for the king of

England, who loved him much, wished it should be so. He was certainly worthy of it; for he was a sweet tempered knight, courteous, benign, amiable, liberal, courageous, prudent and loyal in all affairs, and bore himself valiantly on every occasion: there was none more beloved and esteemed by the knights and ladies of his time.

Whilst the commissioners and deputies of the king of England were taking seisin and possession of the aforesaid lands, according to the articles of peace, other commissioners and deputies were on the frontiers of France with commissioners from that king, ordering all men at arms, who were garrisoned in the different castles and forts of France, to evacuate and surrender them to the king of France, under pain of confiscation and death.

There were some knights and squires attached to England who obeyed, and surrendered, or made their companions surrender, such forts as they held: but there were others who would not obey, saying that they had made war in the name of the king of Navarre.

There were also some from different countries, who were great captains and pillagers, that would not, on any account, leave the country; such as Germans, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, Gascons and bad Frenchmen, who had been impoverished by the war: these persons persevered in their wickedness, and did afterwards much mischief to the kingdom.

When the captains of the forts had handsomely delivered them up, with all they contained, they  
marched

marched off, and when in the plain, they dismissed their people: but those who had been so long accustomed to pillage, knowing well that their return home would not be advantageous for them, but that they might perhaps suffer for the bad actions they had committed, assembled together, and chose new leaders from the worst disposed among them. They then rode on, one party following the other, and made their first stand in Burgundy and Champagne, where they formed large squadrons and companies, which were called the Late-comers, because as yet they had but little pillaged that part of the kingdom of France. They suddenly came before and took the fort of Joinville\*, with great wealth in it, which the whole country round had brought thither, confiding in the strength of the place. When these troops found such riches as were valued at a hundred thousand francs, they divided it amongst them as far as it would go, and held the castle for a time, from whence they scoured all the country of Champagne, the bishopricks of Verdun, Toul and Langres; but, when they had plundered sufficiently, they departed, and sold the castle of Joinville to the inhabitants of the country for one thousand francs.

They then entered Burgundy, where they reposed and refreshed themselves until they were all collected, and did many bad and villainous actions; for they had among them some knights and squires

---

\* Joinville,—an ancient town in Champagne, on the Marne, diocese of Châlons.

of that country, who advised and conducted them. They remained some time in the neighbourhood of Belançon, Dijon and Beaune, despoiling every where, for none went out to oppose them. They also took the good town of Guerchey\* in the Beaunois, which they sacked, and remained for a time near Vergy†, on account of the fertility of that country. Their numbers were perpetually increasing; for those who quitted the castles and towns on their being surrendered, and who were disbanded by their captains, came into those parts; so that by Lent they amounted to at least sixteen thousand combatants.

When they found their numbers so great, they appointed many captains, whom all obeyed implicitly. I am able to name some of their greatest leaders; and first a knight from Gascony, called sir Seguin de Batéfol, who had under his command two thousand combatants. There were also Tal-lebert Tallabaton, Gay du Pin, Elpiote, le petit Mechin, Battailler, Hauquequin François, le Bourg de l'Elpare, Nandoz de Bauguerant, le Bourgca-mus, le Bourg de Breteuil, la Nuyt, le Scot, Ar-brethouny, l'Allemant, Bourdonelle‡, Bernard de la Salle, Robert Briquet, Carnelle, Aimenon d'Ortige, Garliot du Châtel, Gironet du Paux, l'Ortingo de la Salle, and many others.

\* A village in Champagne, near Joigny.

† Vergy, — a village of Burgundy, bailiwick of Nuits.

‡ Q. if this do not mean the Scot Aberthouny, and the German Bourdonnelle?

These leaders, about the middle of Lent, resolved that they would advance with their forces towards Avignon, and pay a visit to the pope and cardinals. They therefore traversed the country of Burgundy and Mâcon, making for the rich and fertile country of Forez, and for Lyon situate on the Rhône.

When the king of France was informed in what manner these free booting troops overran and pillaged his kingdom, he was mightily enraged. It was stated, by special orders of the council, to his majesty, that unless these bands were repressed, they would multiply so much and do such mischief, to judge from what they had already done, that the kingdom of France would suffer equally as during the war with the English. The council, therefore, advised the king to send a sufficient force to fight them.

The king, in consequence, wrote especial letters to his cousin the lord James de Bourbon\*, (who was at that time in the town of Montpellier, and had

---

\* Lord James de Bourbon. Count de la Marche received from king John, to whom he was always faithful, the county of Ponthieu and the dignity of constable. He was famous in three battles : first in that of Crecy, where he was wounded ; next in that of Poitiers, when he was taken prisoner ; and lastly in that of Brignano, where he conquered. But soon after, a company of disbanded soldiers ravaging Champagne and the Lyonnois, lord James was sent against them, when, being overpowered by numbers, he and his son Peter were mortally wounded, and died three days afterwards at Lyon, 6th April 1382.—*Anderson's Royal Genealogies*.

I suspect, however, there is some mistake, and that Brignano means Brignais, where he was mortally wounded.

lately put fir John Chandos in full poffeffion of the cities, lands, towns and caftles of the duchy of Guienne, as has been before mentioned,) ordering him to put himfelf at the head of the force that was to be fent againft thefe freebooters, and to take a fufficient number of men at arms to give them combat.

When the lord James de Bourbon received thefe orders, he fet off immediately for the city of Agen\*, without ftopping any where, and fent off letters and meffengers to the nobles, knights and fquires, requiring, in the king's name, their infant attendance. Every one moft willingly obeyed his orders, and followed him to the city of Lyon; for he was eager to fight with thefe wicked people.

The lord James of Bourbon was much beloved throughout the kingdom of France, and all moft cheerfully obeyed his orders. Knights and fquires, therefore, came to him from all quarters; from Auvergne, from Limoufin, Provence, Savoy and Dauphiné. On the other hand, many attended him from the duchy of Burgundy, whom the young duke of Burgundy had fent to him.

This army began its march, making no halt at Lyon, but advanced into the county of Mafcon. The lord James entered the county of Foretz, which was dependant on his fifter in right of her children, for the count de Foretz was lately dead, and was governed by Reginald de Foretz, in the interim,

---

\* Agen is a confiderable city in Guienne, the capital of the Agenois, twenty-eight leagues from Touloufe, and thirty-fix from Bourdeaux.

who was brother to the late count. He received the lord James and his company with great joy, and feasted them in the best manner he was able. The two nephews of the lord James de Bourbon were at home: he presented them to him, who received them very graciously, and ordered them to be posted near his person, that they might aid to defend their country.

The free companies were advancing towards this neighbourhood; for those who were at Chalons\* upon the Saone and near to Tournus†, and in that fertile country, having heard that the French were assembling an army to fight with them, their captains called a council, to determine what steps they should take. They made a muster of their troops, and found they amounted, one with another, to sixteen thousand combatants. They then resolved to go and meet the French, who were so desirous of it, and to offer them battle, in such situations only as would be for their advantage, but upon no other terms. ‘If fortune,’ said they, ‘should be favorable to us, we may all be rich, and at our ease for a long time, as well by the valuable prisoners we shall make, as from the fear we excite; for no more troops will be hardy enough to come against us: but, if we lose the battle, we shall have hard blows for our pay.’ This resolution was adopted: they broke up their camp, and marched towards the mountains,

---

\* Châlons,—an ancient town in Burgundy, twenty-nine leagues from Lyon.

† Tournus,—an ancient town of Burgundy, on the Saone, in the road from Lyon to Dijon.

in order to penetrate into the county of Foretz : they came to the river Loire, and, in their road, to a good town called Charlieu\*, in the bailiwick of Mafcon, which they furrounded and attacked. They exerted themselves to take it by assault, which employed them a whole day, but they could do nothing, for it was well defended and guarded by the gentlemen of the country, who had flung themselves into the town ; otherwise it would have been won.

They then marched off, and revenged themselves on the estates of the lord of Beaujeu, which were near, and where they did very considerable mischief, and entered the diocese of Lyon.

As they advanced, they took all the smaller forts, and lodged themselves in them, and did much damage wherever they passed. They took a castle and a lord and lady in it ; which castle was called Brignais†, and is situate on the Rhône, three leagues from Lyon. There they halted and took up their quarters, for they were informed that the French army was drawn out in the plain in order of battle.

---

\* Charlieu,—a town of the Lyonnais.

† Brignais,—In all my old editions, and in lord Berner's translation, it is Brunay : but Denys Sauvage is certainly right to alter it to Brignais.



## CHAP. CCKIII.

THE LORD JAMES DE BOURBON AND HIS ARMY ARE DEFEATED BY THESE FREEBOOTING COMPANIES.—THE POPE ORDERS A CROISADE TO BE PROCLAIMED, AFTER THEY HAVE TAKEN THE PONT DU ST. ESPRIT, AND FINDS MEANS TO GET RID OF THEM.

THE men at arms, assembled under the lord James de Bourbon, were in the city of Lyon upon the Rhône, when they heard that these companies were approaching in great strength, and had taken by assault the town and castle of Brignais, as well as several others, and were pillaging and ruining the whole country.

This was very unpleasant news to the lord James, who had taken the management of the estates of the county of Foretz for his nephews, as well as to all the other chiefs. They immediately took the field, and were a numerous body of men at arms, knights and squires. They sent out their scouts for intelligence respecting these companies, to know where they were, that they might find them.

I must now mention the grand trick which these free companies played. They were encamped upon a high mountain\*, on the summit of which there

---

\* A high mountain.—Denys Sauvage has written a long note to say, that he had visited this spot in 1558, and that it ought not to be called a *high* mountain, for it was but a hillock. This Froissart himself allows in the following lines, where the scouts call it a 'tertre.' D. Sauvage says, the place corresponds to the description, and that different weapons have been found in the adjoining grounds.

was a plain that could not be seen : in this place they had posted the greater part of their army, and permitted the French scouts to come so near, they could have taken them if they had chosen it, but they were allowed to return unhurt.

They informed the lord James de Bourbon, the count d'Uzez, the lord Reginald de Foretz and those lords who had sent them, all they had observed and heard, adding, ' we have seen the companies drawn up in array upon a hillock, and, according to our understanding, well formed ; but, having attentively considered them, they cannot be more than five or six thousand men, and seem marvelously ill armed.'

When lord James de Bourbon heard this, he said to the archpriest, ' You told me they amounted to at least sixteen thousand combatants, and you now hear the contrary.' ' My lord,' answered he, ' I still think they are not less in number : if it should be otherwise, we may thank God for it, and it is so much the better for us : you will therefore determine what you will do.' ' In the name of God,' said the lord James, ' we will go and fight them.'

The lord James ordered all the banners and pennons to halt immediately, and formed his battalions in good order to begin the combat, for they saw their enemies before them. He then created many new knights : the first was his eldest son Peter, who displayed his banner ; his nephew, the young count de Foretz, did the same ; the lord of Tournon, the lord de Molinier, and the lord de Groslee in Dauphiné. Among the nobility, there  
 fir Louis and fir Robert de Beaujeu, fir  
 Louis

Louis de Châlons, sir Hugh de Vienne, the count d'Uzez, and many other worthy knights and squires, eager to advance to the combat, both for their own honor and to destroy these freebooters, who were wasting the country without right or reason.

The archpriest, whose name was Arnaut de Cervole, was ordered to take the command of the first battalion. He willingly obeyed; for he was an expert and hardy knight, and had under his command about sixteen hundred combatants.

The freebooters, from their situation on the hill, saw but too clearly all these arrangements of the French, who could not see what they were about, nor approach them without danger and loss; for there were at least a thousand cart loads of flints ready to be thrown against the first assailants by that body of men who appeared so ill armed to the scouts.

I must mention, that the only way these French men at arms, who were so desirous to fight the companions at any rate, could approach them was to ascend sideways the hill on which they had placed themselves. When they, therefore, attempted this, those who were on the hill began to throw down on them the stones and flints, of which they had made so large a provision that they had only to stoop and pick them up; and, having full time to aim them well, they wounded and killed many, so that others were afraid to push forward. This advanced battalion was so severely treated, it was not of any good use afterwards. The other battalions marched to its succour, under the lord James

de Bourbon, his son and his nephews, with the banners, and many other respectable gentlemen, who rushed on to their own destruction, so that it was pity they had not formed better plans, or listened to wiser counsel.

The archpriest and some other knights had truly said, they were going to fight with these companions at a disadvantage, with certain loss, considering the situation they had chosen for themselves. They arrived waiting until they should have been dislodged from the strong hold where they had posted themselves, that then they would have a better chance of success, but they were never listened to.

Thus then, when the lord James de Bourbon and the other lords, with banners and pennons flying, approached and ascended sideways this hill, the weaker and less completely accoutred of the frebooters were enabled to harass them; for they flew upon them so rapidly and vigorously stones and slings, that the boldest and best armed were in dread of them.

When they had thus for some time kept them in check, their grand battalion, fresh and untouched, advanced by a secret road round the hill, and being in close order like a brush, with their lances cut down to six feet or thereabouts, with loud cries, and a thorough good will, fell upon the French army.

In this first attack, very many were unhorsed and many gallant deeds performed; but the frebooters fought so hardily, it was marvellous to think of it, and the French army was forced to

h. That good and valiant knight the archpriest  
fought

fought excellently well : but he was so overpowered by numbers that, after being grievously wounded, he was made prisoner, as well as several knights and squires of his company.

— Why should I make a longer talk of this affair ? in fact, the French had the worse of the day : lord James de Bourbon and the lord Peter his son were very badly wounded : the young count de Foretz was slain : sir Reginald de Foretz his uncle, the count d'Uzez, the lord Robert de Beaujeu, the lord Louis de Châlons, and upwards of one hundred knights were made prisoners. It was with great difficulty the lord James de Bourbon and his son the lord Peter were brought back to Lyon.

This battle of Brignais was fought on the Friday after Easter, in the year of our Lord 1361.

All the bordering countries were thrown into the greatest confusion, when they heard that the army had been discomfited ; and there was no one so bold, who had even the strongest castle, that did not tremble ; for the wisest among them immediately supposed the greatest mischiefs would ensue and multiply, if God did not directly bring some remedy.

The inhabitants of Lyon were confounded when they first heard that victory had declared for these freebooting companies. They, however, received in the kindest manner all those who returned from the battle, and were much hurt at what had befallen the lord James de Bourbon and his son the lord Peter. The ladies, both young and old, visited them in the kindest manner ; for they were much beloved in the city of Lyon. The lord James

departed this life the third day after the battle, and his son did not long survive him. They were much pitied and regretted. The king of France was greatly affected at the death of the lord James de Bourbon; but, as it was not now to be amended, he was obliged to bear his mourning as well as he could.

We will now return to these freebooters, who, having resolved to keep themselves united, were rejoiced at the fortunate issue of this battle. They had been great gainers, as well by what they had seized on the spot as from the ransoms of their wealthy prisoners. These companies had the whole country under their disposal, for no one now ventured to attack them.

Soon after the battle at Brignais, they entered and overspread the county of Foretz, which they completely sacked and ruined, except the fortresses; and because they were in such large bodies that no small extent of country could maintain them, they divided themselves into two parties; sir Seguin de Bastesol commanded the smallest, which, however, consisted of about three thousand fighting men. He advanced towards Ance\*, near to Lyon, where he fixed his quarters. He then strongly fortified and rebuilt parts of it, and kept his troops in its neighbourhood, which is one of the richest countries in the world. He overran and ransomed at his ease all

---

\* Ance,—an ancient town of the Lyonnais, situated near the Saône, diocese and election of Lyon, about a league from St. Jean.

the countries above and below the Saone, such as the county of Mâcon, the archbishoprick of Lyon, the territories of the lord of Beaujeu, and the whole country as far as Marfilly les Nonnains\*, and the county of Nevers.

The other division of these free companies under the command of Nandoz de Baugerant, Espiote, Carnelle, Robert Briquet, Ortingo and Bernard de la Salle, Lannuyt, le Bourcgamust†, le bourg de Breteuil, le bourg de l'Esparre, and many others of

\* Marfilly les Nonnains. I cannot find in the Gazetteer this name. There is Marcilly sur Saone, a village in Burgundy, near Auxonne, which is, I suppose, the same.

† *Bourg*, in the dictionaries of the old French language seems to mean *bastard* or *illegitimate*.

*Burgi*, in Du Cange's Glossary, is as follows, Calepino ex Tit. C. de fund. rei privatae. 'Qui collegio, vel curiae, vel burgis ceterisque corporibus servierit. An inde, an non potius burg-gravius per contractionem *Bourgs*, appellati sunt castellani, et prefecti castrorum, per arciuma pud Froissartem,' tom. ii. cap. 34. 'Si estoient de sa route les capitaines des autres chateaux, comme le *bourg* Calart, le *bourg* Anglois, le *bourg* de Champagne, et Raymond de Force, &c.

*Burgi*, adde, 'A genuina vocis Gallicae *bourg* notione longe aberrari mihi videtur, cum ex Froissarte exponitur de Castellano sur *burgi* praefecto. *Bourg* enim eo loci, quemadmodum et in aliis ejusdem aevi historicis, spurium, nothum sonat, Gall. *batard*; quod apprime docet Berry in Hist. Chronol. Caroli VII. ad an. 1432, ubi quem *bourg* dicit, paulo infra appellat *bastard*: sic et ad an. 1430, le *bourg* de Masquaren. *Bourc* in Litt. Remiss. an. 1411. ex reg. 165. Chartoph. reg. ch. 219. Icelui Pierre appellast le suppliant arlot, tacaïn, boure; qui vaut autant à dire en language du Pais de par de la, garçon, truant, bastart.

'*Bort*, eodem sensu usurpant Hispani. Vide in hac voce.'

the same fort and with the same intentions, advanced towards Avignon, saying they would go and visit the pope and the cardinals, in order to have some of their money; otherwise they should be well vexed. They waited in that neighbourhood to receive the amount of their ransoms for the prisoners taken at Brignais, as well as to see if the peace that had been made between the two kings was likely to be lasting.

In their route to Avignon, they took towns, castles, and forts; for nothing could stand before them. The whole country was in alarm; for in those parts they had not had any war, and the guards did not know how to defend or keep their strong holds against such men at arms.

These companions got information, that at the Pont du St. Esprit\*, seven leagues from Avignon, there was very great wealth; and that all the riches of the country thereabouts had been carried thither, as to a place of safety, trusting to the strength of its castle. They therefore consulted together, and agreed that if they could get possession of this town

---

\* Pont du St. Esprit,—a town of lower Languedoc, on the Rhône, diocese and receipt of Uzès; so called from one of the most beautiful bridges in Europe built over the Rhône, in the road from Montpellier to Paris.

It is probable that the town of Pont St. Esprit was taken twice; for a chronicle written, in the reign of king John, assures us positively, 'que les compagnons qui estoient sortis de la France, et qui se faisoient appeler la grand compaignie,' took possession of the town and castle of St. Esprit on Innocent's day 1360.—*Chronique, MSS. du Roi Jean, Bibliothèque du Roi,*



of St. Esprit; it would be of the greatest advantage to them; for they then would be masters of the Rhône as well as of Avignon.

After they had well digested their plan, Guyot du Pin and the little Meehin (as I have heard it related) mounted their horses, and, with their companies, rode one whole night to the extent of fifteen leagues. They arrived by break of day, at the town of St. Esprit, which they took, and all those of both sexes which were therein. It was a pitiful fight; for they murdered many a discreet man, and violated many a virgin. They gained immense riches, and provision sufficient to last them a whole year.

They could from this town escape easily, in an hour's time and without danger, into the kingdom of France, and in another hour into the empire. They collected their companies together, and kept advancing towards Avignon, at which the pope and cardinals were much alarmed.

These companions had chosen, at the Pont du St. Esprit, a captain to command the whole of their forces, who was commonly stiled the friend\* of God, and enemy of all the world.

There were at that time in France, besides these companies, many other pillagers, English, Gascons

---

\* Friend. Denys Sauvage says, in a note on the margin, that instead of *ami* it was *ennemi* in all the editions; but that he had corrected it from the two abridgements. He is certainly right as to the printed editions of Verard and Eustace, as well as in lord Berner's translation and Barnes's history of Edward III.; but it is *ami* in my two MSS;

and Germans, who were desirous of living there, and who maintained many garrisons in fortresses. Although the commissaries from the king of England had ordered them to evacuate these castles, and to leave the country, they had not obeyed, which was very displeasing, to the king of France, as well as to his council.

But when many of them learnt (for they had possession of different places in France) that their brethren had overthrown the lord James de Bourbon with two thousand knights and squires, had taken a great many prisoners, and had very lately surprised and conquered the town of St. Esprit, where they had found immense riches, and that they had expectations of gaining Avignon, where they would have the pope and cardinals at their mercy, as well as all Provence, each was eager to join them, in the hopes of gain and doing more mischief. This was the reason why many warriors left their forts and castles, and advanced before their companions, expecting greater pillage.

When pope Innocent VI. and the Roman college saw themselves thus threatened by these accursed people, they were exceedingly alarmed, and ordered a croisade to be published against these wicked Christians, who were doing every thing in their power to destroy Christianity (like the Vandals\* of old, without right or reason) by ruining all the

---

\* Vandals. Denys Sauvage has *Bandes*, and says it is so in all the editions, but that he thinks it should be Vandals. It is *Vandae* in all my printed editions, as well as MSS.

countries whither they resorted; by robbing wherever they could find any thing; by violating women, both young and old, without pity; and by killing men, women and children without mercy, who had done no ill to them; for he was reckoned the bravest, and most honored, who could boast of the most villainous actions.

The pope and the cardinals had therefore a croisade publicly preached. They absolved from every crime and sin all those who should take the cross, and voluntarily give themselves up to destroy these wretches. The cardinals elected the lord Peter de Monfrier, cardinal d'Arras, by some called cardinal d'Ostia, to be the chief of this croisade; who, upon his nomination, immediately left Avignon, and went to Carpentras, seven leagues distant, where he fixed his quarters. He retained all soldiers, and others, who were desirous of saving their souls, and of gaining the foresaid pardons: but he would not give them any pay, which caused many of them to depart and go into Lombardy; others returned to their own countries, and some joined these wicked companies, which were daily increasing.

They divided themselves into several companies, over each of which they nominated captains, and took up their quarters in different places. Thus they harassed the pope, the cardinals and the merchants in the neighbourhood of Avignon, and did a great deal of mischief until the summer was far advanced of the year 1361.

It happened that the pope and cardinals cast their eyes upon a very accomplished knight and good

war-

warrior; that is to say, upon the marquis de Montferrat\*, who, for a long time, had been engaged in war against the lords of Milan, and was at this time so employed. They sent to him to come to Avignon, where he was received with much honor by the pope and cardinals.

A treaty was then entered into with him. He agreed, for a considerable sum of money, to free the territories of the pope and the neighbourhood of those freebooting companies, and to lead them with him into Lombardy.

The marquis negotiated, therefore, with the captains of these companies†, and managed so well, that by means of sixty thousand florins which he divided among them, and the high pay he promised them, they consented to follow him into Lombardy;

\* The marquis de Montferrat. John Palæologus, 16th marckgrave of Montferrat, 1338, died 1371, reigned 33 years.—*Anderson's Royal Genealogies*.

† Captains of these companies. Barnes says, that the principal leader was sir John Hawkwood; but the following quotation from the life of sir John Hawkwood, published in the 6th volume of the *Bibliot. Typog. Britan.* page 6, shews it was not so.

‘The company of English adventurers who now entered into the service of the marquis of Montferrat, 1363, is said, by Muscatario, vol. xii. p. 207, to have been commanded by one *Albaret*.

‘Upon the conclusion of the peace between the marquis of Montferrat and Galeazzo, the few English who remained with the former, went and joined their countrymen in Tuscany, and soon after formed a body under Hawkwood.’

There must be a mistake respecting the date of 1363, for well as *Denys Sauvage*, fixes it positively 1361.

but

but they also insisted on receiving pardon and absolution from all crimes and sin.

Every article was fulfilled, and the money paid: they gave up the town of St. Esprit, quitted the territory of Avignon, and marched away with the marquis of Montferrat.

King John and his whole kingdom were much rejoiced, when they found themselves delivered from these people; but many of them returned back into Burgundy: sir Seguin de Batefol, who kept his garrison at Ance, would not surrender it for any treaty or promise they made him: however, France was, in many places, more at peace than it had been.

When the greater part of these companies had quitted the country, and had marched with the marquis de Montferrat into Piedmont, the marquis managed his affairs well against the lords of Milan. He conquered many towns, castles and forts, and gained much territory from them. He had also many skirmishes and attacks, which turned out to his profit as well as honor; and these companies, within the year, gave him a superiority in the war, and were in a great measure the cause that the lords Galeas and Bernabo Visconti\*, who were sovereigns

---

\* In the year 1354, Matthew II., Bernabo and Galeas II., all three sons of Stephen Visconti, brother of John, succeeded their uncle in the state of Milan, and divided it into equal portions, except Milan and Genoa, which the two last individually held. Matthew dying without male children, the 26th September 1355, his two brothers inherited his portion,

reigns of Milan, and who since reigned there in great prosperity, came to a proper understanding with him.

About this time sir Seguin de Batefol, who had retained his garrison at Ance upon the river Saone, took by escalade a good city in Auvergne, called Brioude, and which is situated on the river Allier. He maintained himself there for upwards of a year, and fortified it so strongly that he was not afraid of an attack: from this place he overran all the country as far as Clermont\*, Tilhac, Puy†, Cate Dien‡, Montferrant§, Riom||, la Nonnette¶, Uffoire\*\*<sup>o</sup>, Oudalle††, and the lands of the count Dauphin,

portion, except Bologna, which they suffered Visconti d'Olegio to carry from them. They obtained the same year, from the emperor Charles IV. the vicgerency of Lombardy. Their union defended them against a powerful league, formed by the Florentines, the marquises of Este, of Mantua and of Montferrat. In 1359, Galeas, assisted by his brother Bernabo, made the conquest of Parma, in the month of November, after a long siege. In 1371, Bernabo acquired, from Feltrin de Gonzague, the city of Reggio. Galeas died 1378, aged 59 years. Muratori gives a very bad character of him.

See more of the house of Visconti, in l'Art de verifier les Dates, whence the above is taken.

\* Clermont, or Clermont Ferrand,—capital of Auvergne.

† Puy,—a village in Auvergne, diocese of Clermont.

‡ Cate Dien, Q. an abbey, diocese of Auch.

§ Montferrant,—a town in Auvergne, near Clermont.

|| Rion, Riom,—a city of Auvergne, near Clermont.

¶ La Nonnette,—a town of Auvergne, election of Issoire.

\*\* Uffoire, Uffon,—a town of Auvergne, four leagues from Brioude.

||| I cannot find, nor Tilhac.

who

who was at that time a hostage in England, and committed the greatest damages.

When he had very much impoverished the whole country, he marched away, according to an agreement, carrying off with him great riches. Sir Seguin de Batefol\* returned into Gascony, whence he had originally come. Of this sir Seguin I know no more, except that by accident I heard it related that he died in an extraordinary manner. God pardon him for all his misdeeds!

---

\* Sir Seguin de Batefol. Mezeray calls him Simon Batefol. Villaret calls him gentilhomme navarrois, and says that he died from some poisoned oranges, which Charles le Mauvais, king of Navarre, had served at dinner, in order to get rid of him. He was desirous of engaging Sir Seguin de Batefol to make fresh disturbances in France, contrary to the promise he had made king John, on surrendering Brioude: but he asked too large a sum, and, having possession of Charles's secret, he thus poisoned him that it might not be divulged.

*Histoire de France, par Villaret, tom. v. p. 258.*

## CHAP. CCXIV.

THE DEATHS OF THE DUKES OF LANCASTER AND OF BURGUNDY, WHICH LAST CAUSES NEW DISSENTIONS BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.—THE PRINCE OF WALES CROSSES THE SEA TO AQUITAIN.

**A**T this period died in England, the good duke of Lancaster\*, whose Christian name was Henry. The king and all his barons, knights and squires were much afflicted, and wished it had not been so. He left two daughters, the lady Maude and the lady Blanche. The eldest was married to the earl of Hainault of the name of William, son of the lord Lewis of Bavaria and Margaret of Hainault. The youngest was married to the lord John, earl of Richmond, son of the king of England, who was afterwards duke of Lancaster, in right of his wife, and by the death of Henry Duke of Lancaster.

\* Henry duke of Lancaster, who died of the plague of 1360, was buried on the south side of the high altar of the collegiate church of Leicester, founded by his father (not by him, as in Dugdale), and on the next niche to him lay a lady, by likelihood his wife.—*Gough's Sep. Mon.*

• He left issue by his wife Isabel, daughter of Henry lord Beaumont, two daughters, his heiresses. Maude first married to Ralph, son and heir to Ralph Lord Stafford, and afterwards to William duke of Zealand; and Blanche (by virtue of a special dispensation from the pope, in regard to their near alliance) to John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, fourth son to Edward III. and afterwards duke of Lancaster.—*Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. 1, p. 789.

Maude came to England soon after her father's death, and died, supposed by poison.—*Knyghton*.



In this season also died the young duke Philip of Burgundy\*, earl of Burgundy, of Artois and of Boulogne, palatine of Brie and Champagne. He married the daughter of Louis earl of Flanders, by one of the daughters of John duke of Brabant, to whom fell the earldom of Burgundy, by the near relationship of Margaret his mother, who did homage and fealty for it to the king of France. The lord John of Boulogne, earl of Auvergne, came, by the same means, into possession of the earldom of Boulogne, and was homager to the king of France. King John also, from his proximity, took possession of and retained the duchy of Burgundy, and all rights over Champagne and Brie, which was highly displeasing to the king of Navarre; but he could not help himself; for he claimed Champagne and Brie, as being the nearest heir: his reasons were not listened to, for king John hated him much, and declared that he should never possess a foot of ground in Champagne nor in Brie.

---

\* Philip duke of Burgundy succeeded to the earldoms of Boulogne and Auvergne at the age of fifteen, by the death of his mother, 29th September 1360. Towards the latter end of November 1361, he died at Rouvre, and was buried at Citeaux. He lived but a short time, and was very much regretted, as he promised well. The duchy of Burgundy passed to the king of France, not by virtue of the law of appanages, but as being nearest heir to duke Philip. The earldom of Burgundy, by the same right, passed to Margaret, who married Philip, fourth son of John king of France, who was created duke of Burgundy by letters patent, 6th Sept. 1363.

About this time, the king of France had formed a resolution to go to Avignon, and visit the pope and cardinals, and, in his road, to amuse himself by inspecting the duchy of Burgundy, which had lately fallen in to him.

The king, therefore, ordered preparations to be made, and set out from Paris about St. John's day 1362, having left his eldest son, Charles duke of Normandy, regent and governor of the kingdom during his absence.

The king took with him the lord John of Artois, his cousin, whom he much loved; the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Dampmartin, Boucicault marshal of France, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the grand prior of France and several others. He travelled slowly and with much expense, making some stay in all the cities and towns of Burgundy, so that he did not arrive at Villeneuve\*, until about Michaelmas. It was there that his hôtel was prepared, as well for himself as for his attendants. He was most magnificently received and feasted by the pope and the college at Avignon: the king, pope and cardinals visited each other often. The king remained at Villeneuve during the whole time.†

About

---

\* Villeneuve d'Avignon,—a town of lower Languedoc, on the Rhône, opposite to Avignon.

† Villaret seems to think Froissart has made a mistake respecting this visit of the king, and that it was to prevent the marriage of Edmund earl of Cambridge, son of king Edward III. with the widow of the late duke of Burgundy, by means of the pope.

About Christmas pope Innocent VI. departed this life: and the cardinals were in great discord about the election of another, for each was desirous of that honor; more particularly the cardinals of Boulogne and Perigord, who were the greatest in the college. Their dissensions kept the conclave a long time shut up. The conclave had ordered and arranged every thing according to the desires of the two before mentioned cardinals, but in such a manner that neither of them could succeed to the papacy: upon which they both agreed, that none of their brethren should wear the papal crown, and elected the abbot de St. Victor\* of Marfeilles, who  
was

---

\* Since his (the king's) return from London, he made only one journey to the court of Avignon, where he did not arrive until after the death of Innocent VI.\* This opinion will not agree with what Froissart says of the entertainments and feasts he received from the pope. John must have made two journeys, at a short distance from one another. The contrary, however, is proved by the letters of this king preserved in the fourth volume des Ordonnances. Froissart will have, without doubt, confounded this journey with the one made before his imprisonment.

*Hist. de France*, vol. v. p. 270, note.

In the Grands Chroniques de St. Denis, vol. ii. feuillet 273. 'In the month of August 1362, the king of France set out to visit the pope, Innocent, at Avignon, who was then alive, and that same year, the 22d December, he died.'

'King John entered Avignon St. Catharine's day, the 22d November. Pope Urban received him very honorably in consistory, and retained him to dinner.'

There must be some mistake in these dates.

\* Abbot de St. Victor. Urban V. William Grimoald, abbot de St. Germain d'Auxerre, then abbot of St. Victor de Marseille,  
Vol. III. H was

was a holy and learned man, of good morals, and who had laboured hard for the church in Lombard and other places. The two cardinals sent to inform him of his elevation, and to desire he would come to Avignon: which he did as soon as possible, and received this gift with joy. He was called Urban V. and reigned with great prosperity: he augmented much the power of the church, and did great good to Rome and other parts.

Soon after this election, the king of France heard that the lord Peter de Lusignan, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, was on his road to Avignon having crossed the sea: upon which he resolved to wait for him, as he was anxious to see one of whom so many handsome things had been related, so having made war upon the Saracens. Lately, the new king of Cyprus, had taken the strong city of Satalie\* from the enemies of God, and had slain  
without

---

was elected pope, 28th September 1362, at the age of 53 years he died 19th December 1370.

\* City of Satalie,—is the Attalea of the ancients, situated in Pamphilia, a province which at this day makes part of Caramania.

Antalia, or Satalie,—at the bottom of the gulph of Satalie.

*D'Auvillie's Map, Geographic Moderne.*

Peter de Lusignan had succeeded his father Hugh.

He did not arrive at Avignon until the 29th March 1362, the Wednesday of the holy week.

Valdemar, king of Denmark, was there at the same time, who came to place his person and kingdom under the protection of the holy see.—*Fillaret Hist. de France.*

Peter I. succeeded his father Hugh, as king of Cyprus, in

January

without any exceptions, all the inhabitants of both sexes whom he had found there.

There was, during this winter, a full parliament holden in England, respecting regulations for the country, but more especially to form establishments for the king's sons.

They considered that the prince of Wales kept a noble and grand state, as he might well do; for he was valiant, powerful and rich, and had besides a large inheritance in Aquitaine, where provisions and every thing else abounded. They therefore remonstrated with him, and told him from the king his father, that it would be proper for him to reside in his duchy, which would furnish him withal to keep as grand an establishment as he pleased. The barons and knights of Aquitaine, were also desirous of his residing among them, and had before intreated the king to allow him so to do; for although the lord John Chandos was very agreeable and kind to them, they still loved better to have their own natural lord and sovereign than any other.

The prince readily assented to this, and made every preparation becoming his own and his wife's rank\*. When all was ready, they took leave of the

---

January 18, 1372, he was assassinated by two lords whom he had abused.

He disgraced the glories and fame of his early life by his debaucheries and cruelties in his latter days.—*Art de vérifier les Dates.*

\* His wife's rank. The prince of Wales married this year the lady Joan, daughter of Edmund Plantagenet earl of Kent, com-

the king, the queen and their brothers set sail from England, and were landed, with their attendants, at la Rochelle.

But we will for a while leave this prince, and talk of some other regulations which were made at this time in England. It was enacted by the king and his council, that the lord Lionel, the king's second son, and who had borne the title of earl of Ulster, should from thenceforward bear that of duke of Clarence; and the lord John, who was called earl of Richmond, was created duke of Lancaster, which estate came to him by his wife, the lady Blanche, as heiress to the good duke of Lancaster, her father.

It was also taken into consideration by the king and his council, that the lord Edmund, the king's youngest son, who was called earl of Cambridge, should be well provided for, and, if it were possible, that he should be united in marriage with the daughter of the earl of Flanders, at that time a widow.

However, that matter, though proposed, was not fully entered upon; for it would be necessary to go cautiously to work about it; besides, the lady herself was sufficiently young.

monly called the fair countess of Kent. She was a widow, and of the blood royal of England.

She was first married to the earl of Salisbury, and divorced from him, then married to Sir Thomas Holland.—  
HALLAM.

5 A. A. 1

About

About this time, the lady Isabella of France, mother of the king, died. She was daughter of Philip the Fair. The king ordered a most magnificent and pompous funeral for her, at the Friar Minors\*, where which all the prelates and barons of England, as well as the lords of France who were hostages for the performance of the articles of peace, attended. This happened before the prince and princess of Wales left England; soon after which they set out and arrived at la Rochelle, where they were received with great joy, and remained four whole days.

As soon as the lord John Chandos (who had governed the duchy of Aquitaine a considerable time) was informed that the prince was coming, he set off from Niort†, where he resided, and came to the Rochelle with a handsome attendance of knights and squires, where they feasted most handsomely with the prince, princess, and their suite.

The prince was conducted from thence, with great honor and rejoicings, to the city of Poitiers. The barons and knights of Poitou and Saintonge, who at that time resided there, came and did homage and fealty to him.

The Prince rode from city to city, and from town to town, receiving every where due homage and fealty. He at last came to Bourdeaux, where he resided a considerable time, and the princess with

---

\* Friar Minors,—commonly called the Grey Friars, now a parish church called Christ Church.—GRAFTON.

† Niort, a city in Poitou, diocese of la Rochelle.

him. The earls, viscounts, barons, knights and lords of Gascony came thither to pay their respects to him: all of whom he received in so gracious and pleasing a manner, that every one was contented. Even the count de Foix came to visit him, whom the prince and princess received most honorably, and treated him magnificently. A peace was at this time concluded between him and the count d'Armagnac, with whom there had been a continual warfare for a very considerable time.

The lord John Chandos was soon after appointed constable of all Guienne, and sir Guiscard d'Angle marshal. The prince thus provided for the knights of his own country and his household, particularly those he loved most, with these noble and handsome offices, which were at his disposal in the duchy of Aquitaine. He nominated to all his stewartries and balliwicks knights from England, who kept up greater state and magnificence than the inhabitants of the country could have wished: but things did not go according to their desires. We will now leave the prince and princess of Wales, to speak of king John of France, who at this time was at Ville-neuve d'Avignon.



## CHAP. CCXV.

THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF CYPRUS UNDERTAKE AND SWEAR TO PERFORM A CROISADE AGAINST THE INFIDELS.—THE KING OF CYPRUS MAKES EARNEST SOLICITATIONS FOR ASSISTANCE TO MANY KINGS AND PRINCES IN DIVERS PLACES OF CHRISTENDOM,

**A**BOUT Candlemas\* 1362, the king of Cyprus came to Avignon: at which event the whole court was much rejoiced, and many cardinals went out to meet him, and to conduct him to the palace of pope Urban, who received him very graciously, as did the king of France, who was present. When they had remained together some time, and had had wines and spices served to them, the two kings took leave of the pope, and each went to his hôtel.

During this time, there was a public combat before the king of France, at Villeneuve, from pledges given and received, between two valiant and noble knights, whose names were sir Aymon de Pommiers and sir Foulques d'Archiac. When they had

---

\* Candlemas. Denys Sauvage says, in a note on the margin, that Froissart forgets in this place to begin the year the 1st of January.

\* By an edict given by Charles IX. at Roussillon-Château in Dauphiné 1564, he fixed the beginning of the year 1565 at the first of January; whereas formerly the year commenced at Easter. It appears to me that its commencement ought to be the 21st December, or rather the 21st of March.

*Essais Historiques sur Paris*, tome iii. p. 328.

fought well and valorously for a length of time, the king of France appeased them, and made up their quarrel.

The two kings remained the whole Lent at Avignon, or thereabout. They often visited the pope, who received them with joy. During these frequent visits, the king of Cyprus remonstrated with the pope, the king of France and the cardinals present, how noble and praise-worthy a thing it would be for Christendom, to open a holy passage beyond sea, and to fall upon the enemies of the true faith. The king of France listened eagerly to this discourse, and proposed that for himself he would willingly undertake such an enterprize, if he should live three years only, for two reasons: one was, that king Philip his father had formerly made a vow to do the same; the other was to draw out of his kingdom all those men at arms, called free companions, who pillaged and robbed his subjects without any shadow of right, and to save their souls. These reasons, however, the king of France kept to himself, without mentioning them to any one, until holy Friday, when the pope preached in his chapel before the kings of France and Cyprus, and the College of Cardinals.

After the sermon, which was very humble and devout, the king of France, through his great devotion, put on the cross, and requested the pope, with great sweetness, to confirm it to him. The pope immediately and benignantly complied with his request, and crossed in like manner the lord Taleyrand cardinal de Perigord, the lord John d'Artois,

d'Artois, the earl of Eu, the earl of Dampmartin, the earl of Tancarville, the lord Arnold d'Andréghen, the grand prior of France, the lord Bourcicaut, and many knights there present. The king of Cyprus was highly pleased, and returned fervent thanks to the Lord for having inspired their hearts.

Thus, as you have heard, the king of France, and those barons and knights that were with him, put the vermillion cross upon their outward robes. The holy father gave it his benediction, and ordered it to be preached in many places: not, however throughout all Christendom, for a reason I will give. The king of Cyprus (who had come thither with the intention of forming this crusade, having promised himself much pleasure in visiting the emperor and all the great barons of the empire, the king of England, and the chief princes of Christendom, which he did, as this history hereafter will shew you,) offered to the holy father and to the king of France his personal services, his wealth and his eloquence, wherever he should arrive or make any stay, in remonstrating and arguing the grace and devotion of this expedition, in order to excite all those princes and lords to join in it who before had not had much religion.

This said king was so much honored, as it was but just he should be, that, from the eloquence and warmth with which he would display the value of this expedition to the different princes, he would gain more hearts than all the preachments. The pope

pope assented to this proposal, which was then resolved on.

Soon after Easter 1363, the king of Cyprus left Avignon, saying he was going to visit the emperor and the lords of the empire, and then return by Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, to the kingdom of France.

He took leave of the pope and king of France, who on every occasion showed him marked attentions: the pope gave to him and to his attendants presents of jewels and benedictions.

Soon after the departure of the king of Cyprus, the king of France took leave of the pope, and went towards the city of Montpellier, in order to visit Languedoc, where he had not been for a long time.

We will now return to the king of Cyprus, and to the journey which he made. After many days travel in Germany, he came to a city called Prague, and found there the emperor of Germany, the lord Charles of Bohemia\*, who received him magnificently, as did all the lords of the empire who were with him.

The king of Cyprus remained in Prague and in its environs three weeks, and greatly exerted himself in exhorting all the Germans to assist in this holy expedition. The emperor defrayed his expenses

---

\* Lord Charles of Bohemia,—Charles IV. emperor of Germany. He published the famous Golden Bull, that has ever since regulated all the elections of emperors of Germany.

during

during the stay he made, and for his journies in Germany. The king of Cyprus went next to the duchy of Juliers, where the duke received him with much feasting and rejoicings. From the duchy he went to Brabant, where the duke and duchess received him magnificently in the good town of Brussels. He was there entertained with grand dinners, suppers, tournaments and other sports, in which he knew well how to play his part; and, at his departure, they made him many presents of rich jewels.

When he left Brussels, he went to Flanders, to visit earl Lewis, who received and feasted him grandly. He found at Bruges the king of Denmark, who had come thither to see him. They were magnificently treated at Bruges; infomuch that the two kings were very well pleased with earl Lewis, and with the knights and barons of his country.

The king of Cyprus thus passed his summer, since he had left Avignon, in his journey through the empire and along its frontiers, exhorting all to undertake this expedition against the Saracens.— This gave much pleasure to many of the great lords, who were desirous that it should be accomplished; but many others excused themselves from taking part in it.

## CHAP. CCXVI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND DETAINS THE HOSTAGES AS PRISONERS.—THE KING OF CYPRUS USES GREAT INTREATIES WITH THE KINGS OF NAVARRE AND ENGLAND AND THE PRINCE OF WALES, TO INDUCE THEM TO UNDERTAKE THIS CROISADE AGAINST THE SARACENS.

**A**BOUT this time, the king of England, shewed much favor to four dukes, viz. the duke of Orleans, the duke of Anjou, the duke of Berry, and the duke of Bourbon. These lords had returned to Calais, whence they had liberty to make excursions whither they chose for three days; but they were to return on the fourth day by sun-set. The king had granted this favor with the good intent of their being nearer to make solicitations to their friends, and that they might hasten their ransoms, which they were eager to do.

During the time the four above-mentioned lords were at Calais, they sent many and pressing messengers to the king of France, and to the duke of Normandy his eldest son, who had nominated them as hostages, to remonstrate with them on the subject of their ransoms, which they had sworn and promised to attend to at the time they went to England, otherwise they would have undertaken it themselves, threatening no longer to consider themselves as prisoners.

But although these lords were, as you know, very near relations to the king of France, their solicitors and messengers were not listened to, nor themselves  
ransomed,

ransomed, which was very displeasing to them, more particularly to the duke of Anjou, who declared he would himself find a remedy, happen what would.

At this moment, the kingdom and the councils of the king and duke of Normandy were hardly pressed, as well on account of the croisade which the king had undertaken, as for the war with the king of Navarre, who was harassing the realm of France, and who had recalled some of the captains and companies from Lombardy, in order the better to carry on his designs. This was the principal reason why they could not immediately attend to the ransoms of the four dukes, nor give satisfactory answers by their messengers, when they came to France.

We will now return to the king of Cyprus. When he had visited the empire and other countries, as you have heard, he returned to France, where he was magnificently received by the king and the great lords of his court. Several councils were held on the subject of this croisade, to discover in what manner it could turn out to the honor of the king of France or to the good of his realm. The wisest were of opinion, that seeing the kingdom so much harassed, robbed and ruined, by the companies and thieves that invaded it from all parts, this expedition ought not to take place until the kingdom were in a better state, or till peace were made with the king of Navarre. However, notwithstanding the good sense of this advice, the king would not listen to it, nor allow his ardour for this croisade to be cooled. He confirmed his engagement to the king of Cyprus, and promised to be at

Marzeilles

Marfeilles in March the ensuing year (which would be 1364), and that then he would without delay cross the sea, and order purveyances to all who were willing to do the same.

Upon this, the king of Cyprus took his leave of the king of France, finding that he had sufficient time to return to his own country and make his preparations. He considered with himself, if he should not do well to pay a visit to his cousin the king of Navarre, and endeavour, if possible, to make a peace between him and the king of France.

He therefore set out from Paris with a grand equipage, and took the road to Rouen; where, when he was arrived, he was most handsomely received by his cousin the lord John d'Alençon, archbishop of Rouen, who entertained him very agreeably for three days. On the fourth he departed, taking the road to Caen, and continued his route to Cherbourg, where he found the king of Navarre, the lord Louis\* his brother, and a very small company with them.

These two lords of Navarre received the king of Cyprus graciously and honorably, feasted him grandly, as they had the means, and knew well how to use them. Whilst he was there, he endeavoured to begin a treaty between them and the king of France, and talked to them frequently and eloquently upon this subject; for he was a man of

---

\* Lord Louis. Charles had two brothers, Philip and Lewis; but which is here meant, I know not. Deane Savage says it was Philip, my MSS. Lewis.



excellent understanding, master of many languages, and much beloved. The two brothers made very handsome replies to him, but excused themselves by saying, it was not their fault if they were not good friends with the king and realm of France; for their great desire was to be so, but the king must give back their inheritance which he held from them wrongfully. The king of Cyprus would willingly have brought this business to a conclusion, for the king of Navarre would have left it to him, had not their differences been too great.

When the king of Cyprus had remained at Cherbourg about fifteen days, having been entertained by the king of Navarre and his brother suitably to his rank, he took leave of them, saying he should not rest until he had been in England; and exhorted king Edward and his children to put on the cross. He departed from Cherbourg, and arrived at Caen; thence he crossed the sea at Pont de l'Arche\*; and entered Ponthieu; having passed the Somme at Abbeville†, he came to Rue‡, to Montreuil§, and to Calais, where he found the three dukes of Orleans, Berry and Bourbon: for the duke of Anjou had returned to France, but by what means or in what condition I know not.||

These

---

\* Pont de l'Arche,—a town of Normandy, on the Seine, diocese of Evreux.

† Abbeville,—a considerable town in Lower Picardy, diocese of Amiens.

‡ Rue,—a small town in Picardy.

§ Montreuil,—a town in Picardy, diocese of Amiens.

|| See Rymer, anno 1363, for different letters from king John whilst at Avignon, and other matters respecting the ransoms

These three dukes, governors, though they were in the town of Carthage, received the king of Cyprus very joyfully, and the king behaved with equal politeness to them. They continued together for twelve days. When the king of Cyprus had a favourable wind, he crossed the Straits, and arrived at Dover. He remained there two days to recover himself, while they unloaded his vessel and disembarked his horses. The king then continued his route by early day-journeys, until he arrived at the good city of London.

---

records of these princes of the blood. It appears that they were all granted their freedom on possession being given to the officers named by king Edward of certain lands and castles belonging to each of them, dated at Westminster, 26th May 1363.

The Duke of Arden and other barons broke their parole and escaped. In the *Flores* 1364, there are various remembrances made by Edward to this effect.

Some days, in his *Chronicle*, that the Duke of Arden, by breaking his word and oath to return to England as one of the hostages for king Jean, and thus deceiving him, was the cause of his majesty's death, through grief.

Other days, " Their negotiations not succeeding, the Duke of Arden made use of that indulgence to escape into France: the king his father blamed him exceedingly, and, to repair his son's fault, resolved to go himself to England, and, by a personal treaty with Edward, remove the restrictions which had hitherto prevented the full execution of the treaty of Brerigan. His mother tried, in vain, to dissuade him from this resolution: for he told them, that though good faith were banished out of the east of the world, it ought still to be found in the words of princes; and as the performance of the articles of that treaty was the salvation of his, he would in any way be them executed."

He

He was honorably received on his arrival, as well by the barons of France who were there as hostages, as by the English lords, who had rode out to meet him; for king Edward had ordered some of his knights, viz. the earl of Hereford\*, fir Walter Manny, the lord Despencer†, the lord Ralph de Ferrers‡, fir Richard Pembridge§, fir Richard Stafford||, and others, to meet him, who accompanied and conducted him to the lodgings which were prepared for him in the city of London.

It would take me a day were I to attempt relating to you the grand dinners, suppers, and other feasts and entertainments that were made, and the magnificent presents, gifts and jewels which were given,

---

\* The earl of Hereford,—son of William Bohun, earl of Northampton, succeeded to the title and estates of Hereford, on the death of his uncle Humphry de Bohun, in 1361. He was afterwards nominated ambassador to the duke of Milan, respecting the marriage of his daughter Violante to the duke of Clarence, and died shortly after.

† Lord Despencer,—grandson of Edward that was executed at Hereford. He enjoyed much favor under Edward III. and was buried at Tewkesbury.

‡ Lord Ralph de Ferrers. I cannot find in Dugdale's Baronage any of this family that bore the name of Ralph. There is Rauf de Ferriers, banneret, in Ashmole, which I suppose must be the same.

§ Sir Richard Pembridge,—was fifty-third knight of the garter. He died 1375, and his tomb is in Hereford cathedral. The only account I can find of him is in Mr. Gough's first volume of Sepulchral Monuments, to which I refer.

|| Sir Richard Stafford,—was son to fir Richard Stafford, brother to Ralph earl of Stafford. He served in Edward III.'s wars in Gascony, and was summoned to parliament among the barons, from 44th Edward III. until 4th Richard II. inclusive.

especially by queen Philippa, to the accomplished king of Cyprus. In truth, he was deserving of them, for he had come a long way and at a great expense, to visit them, to exhort the king to put on the red cross, and assist in regaining countries now occupied by the enemies of God. But the king of England politely and wisely excused himself, by saying; 'Certainly, my good cousin, I have every inclination to undertake this expedition; but I am growing too old, and shall leave it to my children. I make no doubt, that when it shall have been begun, you will not be alone, but will be followed most willingly by my knights and squires.' 'Sir,' replied the king of Cyprus, 'what you say satisfies me. I verily believe they will come, in order to serve God, and do good to themselves; but you must grant them permission so to do; for the knights of your country are eager in such expeditions.' 'Yes,' answered the king of England; 'I will never oppose such a work, unless some things should happen to me or to my kingdom which I do not at this moment foresee.'

The king of Cyprus could never obtain any thing more from king Edward, in respect to this crusade; but, as long as he remained, he was politely and honourably feasted with a variety of grand suppers.

About this time king David\* of Scotland had some affairs to transact with king Edward that made it

---

\* King David It appears, by Rymer, from the passport granted him by king Edward, the 20th February, 1364, that David

it necessary for him to come to England; so that when he heard the king of Cyprus was there he hastened his journey, in order to meet him, and made such dispatch that he arrived in London before he had left it.

The two kings were much rejoiced to meet, and congratulated each other upon it. The king of England gave them two grand entertainments in his palace of Westminster. At the last of these, the king of Cyprus took his leave of the king and queen of England, who made him very magnificent presents: king Edward gave him also a ship called the Catharine, which was very beautiful and well built. The king of England had had her constructed, by his orders, to make the voyage to Jerusalem. She was valued at twelve thousand francs, and lay in the harbour of Sandwich.

The king of Cyprus was much pleased with this gift, and returned many thanks for it. He made no long stay after this in England, but returned to the king of France. The king of England, however, defrayed all his and his attendants' expences during the time he remained, as well as the cost of his journeys in coming and returning. I do not know how it was, nor for what reason, but he left the ship

---

David Bruce's journey into England was to pay his devotions at the shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham. The same religious motives might have made him so eager to converse with the king of Cyprus on the subject of the crusade.—His passport was to continue in force until the ensuing Michaelmas.

His new queen, Margaret Logie, had at the same time a passport, to pay her devotions at the shrine of Thomas a Becket, at Canterbury.

in the harbour of Sandwich; for, two years afterwards, I saw it there at anchor.

The king of Cyprus left England\*, and crossed the sea to Boulogne. Having learnt on the road, that the king of France, the duke of Normandy, the lord Philip, youngest son to king John, and the

---

\* Barnes, in his history of Edward III. says, that the king of Denmark and the duke of Bavaria accompanied him to England, and that their passports were dated 6th December.

In Rymer, there is a passport for Waldemar, king of Denmark, dated the 1st of February, 1364, to continue to the ensuing Michaelmas, for himself and three hundred horsemen, &c. but not one word is said of the king of Cyprus, nor of the duke of Bavaria.

‘Anno reg. 31. 1357.—Henry Picard, vintner, mayor of London, in one day did sumptuously feast Edward king of England, John king of France, the king of Cyprus, (then newly arrived in England), David king of Scots, Edward prince of Wales, with many noblemen and others: and after, the said Henry Picard kept his hall against all comers whosoever that were willing to play at dice and hazard.

‘In like manner, the lady Margaret, his wife, did also keep her chamber to the same intent.

‘The king of Cyprus playing with Henry Picard in his hall, did win of him fifty marks; but Henry being very skilful in that art, altering his hand, did after win of the said king the same fifty marks and fifty marks more; which when the said king began to take in ill part, although he dissembled the same, Henry said unto him, ‘My lord and king, be not aggrieved: I covet not your gold, but you play; for I have not bid you hither that I might grieve you, but that amongst other things I might try your play;’ and gave him his money again, plentifully bestowing his own amongst the retinue. Besides, he gave many rich gifts to the king and other nobles and knights, who dined with him, to the great glory of the citizens of London in those days.’—

*the Chronicle.*

council of state, were to be in the good town of Amiens, the king of Cyprus took that road, and found the king of France just arrived, with part of his council. He was kindly received by them, and related to them the greater part of his travels, which they listened to with pleasure.

When he had been there some time, he said that as yet he had done but little, until he should have seen the prince of Wales; and that, if it pleased God, he would go visit him, as well as the barons of Poitou and Aquitaine, before he returned home.

The king of France made no objection to this, but earnestly entreated, that when he set out on his return home, he would take his departure from France, to which the king of Cyprus readily assented. He therefore left Amiens, taking the road to Beauvais, passed the Seine at Pontoise, and continued his route to Poitiers.

At this time, the prince was at Angoulême, where there were shortly to be grand entertainments and jousts by forty knights and as many squires, in honor of the princess, who had lately been brought to bed of a handsome son, called Edward\*, after his father.

As soon as the prince was informed of the arrival of the king of Cyprus at Poitiers, he sent by special command, sir John Chandos, attended by many knights and squires of his household, to meet him.

---

\* By her (the princess) he had two sons, namely Edward the eldest, born at Angoulême in February 1365 (Leland saith 1364), who died in Gascoigne at seven years of age,—and Richard, who was afterwards king of England.—*Ashmole's Garter*, p. 676.

They accompanied him, with great joy and respect, to the prince, who received him most kindly and honorably.

We will now leave the king of Cyprus for a while, and return to the king of France, to relate what were the reasons why he and his council had come to Amiens.

---

CHAP. CCXVII.

KING JOHN RETURNS, OF HIS OWN FREE WILL;  
TO ENGLAND, AND DIES THERE.

**I** WAS informed, and indeed truly, that king John had a wish to go to England, to visit his brother king Edward and the queen his sister, and for this effect had summoned part of his council.— They could not make him change his mind, though they gave freely their opinions on the subject; and many of the prelates and barons of France told him, he would do a very foolish thing, if he again put himself in the power of the king of England.

But the king answered, that he had found so much loyalty and honor in his brother the king of England, the queen, and his nephews their children; that he could not sufficiently praise them: he did not in the least doubt but that they would be courteous, polite and loyal, and friends to him in all situations. He was also anxious to go to England, in order to make excuses for his son, the duke of Anjou, who had returned to France. On hearing this, not one of the council had a word more



more to say, since his majesty had thus ordered and settled it.

He again appointed his son, the duke of Normandy, regent of France, during his absence. He promised his youngest son the lord Philip, that on his return from the journey he was about to make\*, he would create him duke of Burgundy, and that he should inherit the lands of that duchy.

When all things were prepared according to his orders, and his purveyances sent to Boulogne, he departed from the city of Amiens, and, having begun his journey, continued it until he came to Hesdin, where he remained to pass his Christmas — The earl Louis of Flanders, who was much attached to him, came there to visit his majesty; and they continued together about three or four days. On Innocents' day, he left Hesdin, rode forwards to Boulogne, where he took up his quarters in the abbey, and remained there until he had a favorable wind.

He was accompanied, when he crossed the sea, by the following nobles of his realm, the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Eu, the earl of Dampmartin, the grand prior of France, the lord Boucicaut mar-

---

\* That on his return, &c. King John's passport is in Rymer, dated 10th December, 1363. There is also in that excellent collection, the patent of the creation of Philip duke of Burgundy, which is dated Germigny sur Marne, 6th September, 1363. — *Cartæ*, vol. ii.

There are two Germignys, Germigny l' Evêque and Germigny sur Consonne, villages of Brie, in the diocese and election of Meaux.

shal of France, sir Triftan de Maguelles, sir Peter and sir John de Villiers, sir John d'Anville, sir Nicholas Bracque, and several great knights.

When their vessels were laden, and the mariners had a wind to their wishes, they informed the king, who embarked on board his vessel about midnight; as did his attendants on board of theirs. Having set their sails for the coast of England, they arrived at Dover about vespers. It was on the day preceding the vigil of the feast of the three kings, called the Epiphany\*.

News was brought to the king of England (who at that time was with his queen at Eltham, a very magnificent palace which the king had, seven miles from London), that the king of France had landed at Dover. He immediately ordered many knights of his household to go and congratulate the king on his arrival; the lord Bartholomew Burghersh†, sir Richard Pembridge‡, sir Allan Boxhall§, and se-

\* This, according to a marginal note of Denys Sauvage, makes it 1364, beginning the year the 1st of January.

† Lord Burghersh,—knight of the Garter. See Dugdale's Baronage.

‡ Sir Richard Pembridge. See p. 113, note.

§ Sir Allan Boxhall,—fifty-second knight of the Garter. See *Athenole*.

Walsing. Ypodigma, p. 136, faith; ‘ Hoc anno, Rob. Hanc scutifer fuit occisus in ecclesia Westmon. tempore majoris missæ per quosdam regis satellites quorum doctor extitit Alanus de Buxhalle, miles per ante non ignobilis, sed hoc facto posita semper infamis;’ for which he was by name excommunicated.

Anno 1378, sir Ralph de Ferrars was excommunicated with him for the same offence.

veral others. They took leave of the king Edward, and rode towards Dover, where they found the king of France, who had remained there since his arrival. They attended and conducted him with every mark of respect and honor, as they well knew how to do. Among other compliments, they told him the king their lord was much rejoiced at his coming, which the king of France readily believed.

On the morrow morning, the king and his attendants were on horseback early, and rode to Canterbury, where they dined. On entering the cathedral, the king paid his devotions to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, and presented to it a rich jewel of great value. The king of France remained two days in the city of Canterbury. The third day he set out, taking the road to London, and rode on until he came to Eltham, where the king of England was, with a number of lords, ready to receive him. It was on a Sunday, in the afternoon, that he arrived: there were, therefore, between this time and supper, many grand dances and carols.

The young lord de Coucy\* was there, who took pains to shine in his dancing and singing whenever it was his turn. He was in great favor with both the French and English; for whatever he chose to do he did well and with grace.

---

\* Lord de Coucy. Enguerrand de Coucy, son of Enguerrand de Coucy and Catharine, daughter of Leopold, first duke of Swabia (the present Imperial family.) He married Isabella, eldest daughter of Edward III.—*Anderson's Royal Genealogies.*

I can never relate how very honorably and magnificently the king and queen of England received king John. On leaving Eltham, he went to London; and, as he came near, he was met by the citizens dressed out in their proper companies, who greeted and welcomed him with much reverence, and attended him with large bands of minstrels, unto the palace of the Savoy, which had been prepared for them.

The princes of the blood royal that remained, as his hostages, in England, were also lodged in the same palace; namely, his brother the duke of Orleans, his son the duke of Berry, his cousin the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Alençon, Guy de Blois, the earl of St. Pol, and many more.

The king passed there part of the winter very gaily with his countrymen. The king of England visited him often; as did his children, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Lancaster, and the lord Edmund his youngest son. There were several times great feastings between them, in dinners, suppers and other entertainments, at this hôtel of the Savoy, and at the palace of Westminster, which is not far off, whither the king went in a private manner, whenever he chose it, by the means of the river Thames.

They both frequently regretted the loss of the lord James de Bourbon, and said that it was a very unfortunate business; for no one deserved better his rank among nobles.

We will now leave the king of France for a short time, and speak of the king of Cyprus, who had  
come

come to Angoulême to visit his cousin the prince of Wales. He was most graciously received by his royal highness, and by all the barons, knights and squires of Poitou and Saintonge who were then with the prince, such as the viscount de Thouars, the young lord of Pons, the lord of Partenay, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Guiscard d'Angle; and, among the English, by sir John Chandos, sir Thomas Felton\*, sir Nèle Loring†, sir Richard de Pontchardon‡, sir Simon de Basselle§, and several others, as well of that country as from England.

The king of Cyprus was magnificently entertained by the prince, princess, and the barons and knights above mentioned. He staid there upwards of a month; and then sir John Chandos accompanied him, for his amusement, into different parts of Poitou and Saintonge, and shewed him the good town of la Rochelle, where there was a grand feast made for him. When he had seen every thing, he

\* Sir Thomas Felton,—of Lutcham in Norfolk, forty-ninth knight of the Garter. He was grand seneschal and commandant de Guienne for Richard II. He was killed in opposing Henry Transamare, before the battle of Najara. Sir Thomas Hoe, knight of the Garter, married his daughter.—*Anstis' MSS. Collections.*

† Sir Nèle Loring,—twentieth knight of the Garter. See his life in Ashmole. He was chamberlain to the black prince. He died the 9th Richard II. and was buried at Dunstable.

*Anstis' MSS. Collections.*

‡ Sir Richard de Pontchardon. I cannot find any thing about him.

§ Sir Simon de Basselles,—probably Basset, but I cannot say more.

returned to Angoulême, to assist at the noble tournament which the prince held, where there were plenty of knights and squires.

Soon after this feast, the king of Cyprus took his leave of the prince and of the knights of the country, but not before he had related to them the principal reason of his visit, and for what cause he had put on the red cross which he wore: how the pope had blessed this expedition, which was deserving of every praise; and how the king of France through devotion, as well as many other great lords, had put it on, and had sworn to its execution.

The prince and the knights made him a courteous answer, saying, that in truth it was an expedition in which every man of worth or honor was interested; and that, if it pleased God, and the passage were open, he would not be alone, but would be followed by all those who were desirous to advance themselves.

The king of Cyprus was well pleased with this speech, and took his departure; but sir John Chandos attended him, until he had quitted the principality. It appears to me, that he went back into France, and took the road towards Paris, in the hopes of finding the king of France returned home: but it was not so; for he was still at the palace of the Savoy, confined to his bed by sickness, of which he grew worse every day, to the great uneasiness of the king of England and his queen, as the most learned physicians had declared him to be in much danger.

The

The duke of Normandy was informed of all this at Paris, where he resided, having the regency of the realm; for the lord de Boucicaut had crossed the sea, to convey the news of this illness to him.

The king of Navarre also heard of the progress of this disorder, which gave him no displeasure, for he hoped, if the king of France died, to carry on his war more to his satisfaction: he sent letters, therefore, to the capital de Buch\*, who at that time was with his brother-in-law the earl of Foix†, to desire that he would come to him in Normandy, and that he would exalt him in dignities above all other lords and knights.

The capital, who was fond of arms and cousin to the king of Navarre, complied with his request. He left the earl of Foix, taking his road through the principality of Aquitaine, where he solicited several knights and squires to go with him; but he succeeded with only a few. Neither the English, Gascons nor Poitevins were willing to take up arms for the king of Navarre, against the crown of France; for they considered the treaties and alli-

\* Capital de Buch,—fifth knight of the Garter. M. Anstis, in his second volume, says, ‘it was sir John de Greilly, of royal lineage, and the most renowned commander at that time, whose unalterable loyalty to the crown of England was such, that he chose to die a prisoner at Paris, 1397, rather than deviate from it.’

‘Buch is a small promontory, lying along the coast from Bayonne to Medoc,’ &c. See Anstis.

† Earl of Foix. Gaston II. succeeded his father, 1344. His sister Blanca was married to John de Greilly.

ances entered into and sworn by the king of England, their sovereign lord, with the king of France at Calais, so sacred and strong, they would not by any means infringe or break them.

During the time the capital de Buch was journeying towards the king of Navarre, John king of France departed this life in England. The king, queen, the princes of the blood and all the nobles of England were exceedingly concerned at it, from the great love and affection he had shewn to them since the conclusion of the peace.

His brother, the duke of Orleans, and his son, the duke of Berry, were in great affliction at his death, and sent in haste to inform the duke of Normandy of the melancholy event; who, when he was certain it was true, was much affected by it, as he had reason to be; but, considering that every thing which is created must in the course of nature have an end, and that he could not remedy this loss, he bore it as patiently as he was able. Finding himself thus successor to the inheritance of the kingdom of France, and being well informed that the king of Navarre was daily reinforcing his garrisons in the county of Evreux, and that he was engaging men at arms to carry on the war, he resolved to provide himself with an able council, and to oppose this evil by every means in his power.



## CHAP. CCXVIII.

KING CHARLES OF FRANCE MAKES WISE PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE KING OF NAVARRE, IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE DEATH OF KING JOHN HIS FATHER, AND BEFORE HIS CORONATION.

**A**T this period there was a knight of Brittany, who had always borne arms in favour of the French, called sir Bertrand du Guesclin\*. His worth and fame were but little known except among the knights of Brittany, who were his neighbours in that country, where he had resided and carried on the war in favour of the lord Charles of Blois.

This sir Bertrand was always much esteemed by them as a valiant knight, and well beloved by his brethren at arms: he was already in the good graces of the duke of Normandy, on account of the great acts of valour that he had heard related of him.

It happened that the duke of Normandy, soon after the death of the king his father, had very strong suspicions of the king of Navarre: he therefore gave orders to the lord of Boucicaut, saying: 'Set out from hence as speedily as you can, with as many friends as possible, and ride towards Normandy, where you will meet sir Bertrand du Guesclin: I shall then desire that you both fall on the king of Navarre, and retake Mante; by which means we

---

\* Bertrand du Guesclin. For more of him, see his memoirs in the third and fourth volumes of *les Memoires Historiques*, and also in *Hist. de la Bretagne*, &c.

final of matters to the river Seine. The second  
bourreau answered. Sir, this I will most willingly  
perform.

He then ordered Lays taking with him a great  
number of soldiers and horses. He followed a  
road towards Normandy through St. Germain.  
Lays and Jars were so understanding and accom-  
panied him that he was going to attack the castle  
Roulebois, which was situated in certain pe-  
tious taken his companions, and did every mischief  
possible. Roulebois was a very good and firm  
castle upon the river Seine about a league distant  
from Meaux, and was at that time filled and gar-  
risoned by French companies and their men it was  
well suited to the war for their own benefit, it  
withstood the attacks of the kings of France and  
Normans without distinction. They had a sight  
of the name of William Aubert, a native  
Englishman, whom they implicitly obeyed. He is  
then according to a certain French description  
wages and was an expert leader of great courage.

He and his people had plundered the country  
around, it was in one quarter taken from Paris  
Meaux, but from Meaux to Ecouen to Compiègne.

\* It does not appear from the narrative of Bertrand that he  
was punished in the same and fourth volumes of Les  
mœurs Bretonnes, but the narrative of Bourgeois and his  
to do with the taking of Meaux. It is his name never it  
occurs. Nor are the circumstances agreed as to the exact date and  
this happened.—See Note to page 100.

† Roulebois.—a village in Normandy on the Seine.

• William Aubert. French calls him William Aubert.

fear of them; for they attacked both French and Navarrais, pressing especially the people of Mante very hard.

When the lord de Boucicaut left Paris, though he made it to be understood he was going to that part of the country, nevertheless he missed taking the right road to Roulleboise. He waited therefore, for sir Bertrand du Guesclin and his army, who a short time before had made an excursion to Evreux\*, and held a parley with the inhabitants of that city; but instead of opening their gates to him, they severely attacked him with stones, &c.: he retreated, and made for the marshal, who had halted for him in a road not far from Roulleboise.

Upon mustering their forces, they found they were full five hundred men at arms. These two captains had a long conference together, upon the best means of subsisting themselves, and what would be the surest method of gaining the town of Mante, their principal object. They determined that the lord de Boucicaut, with one hundred of his knights only, should ride to Mante, and feign themselves to be much frightened, crying out that the garrison of Roulleboise was in pursuit of them, and begging that they would give them admittance. If they consented, they were to seize the gates, and sir Bertrand would directly follow with the remainder of the army: they would then be masters of the

---

\* Evreux,—an ancient city of Normandy. Its bishop is suffragan to the archbishop of Rouen.

place. Should this plan fail, they did not see by what other means they could gain it.

The council being dissolved, the lords kept the secret among themselves. The lord de Boucicaut set out, according to their plan, and took the road to Mante: sir Bertrand went with the rest of the troops another road, but placed himself and men in ambush not far from the town.

When the lord de Boucicaut was near to Mante, he and his troops separated, like to people that had been beaten and were pursued. The marshal attended only by ten others, (followed, however, by the rest at a small distance) came to the barricades of the town, and cried out, 'Hollo, good people of Mante, open your gates, I beg of you, and let us come in; for the thieves of Roulebois have discomfited us, and are now at our heels.' 'Who are you?' asked those whom he had addressed. 'I am, gentlemen, the lord de Boucicaut, marshal of France, whom the duke of Normandy had sent against Roulebois: but those rogues there have beaten us, and made us fly, whether willing or not; and they will capture me and my people unless you open your gates to us.'

The people of Mante, thinking he had said nothing but the truth, replied; 'Sir, we know well that those in Roulebois are our enemies as well as yours, and that it is indifferent to them on which party they make war: on the other hand, the duke of Normandy hates us, on account of our attachment to the king of Navarre our lord: we are there-

therefore in great doubt, if we shall not be betrayed by you, who are marshal of France.' 'By my faith, gentlemen, that shall never be; for I am come into this country solely to destroy the garrison of Rouleboise.' At these words they opened their gates. The lord de Boucicaut entered, with some of his companions; but he was followed so slowly by the remainder, that the people of Mante had not time to shut their gates upon sir Bertrand's men, who came in with the last of the lord de Boucicaut's party: for though the lord de Boucicaut went with his men directly to an hôtel, where they disarmed themselves, in order the better to blind the inhabitants, sir Bertrand and his forces came full gallop into the town, crying, 'St. Yves Guesclin! death to the Navarrais.' They entered, pillaged the houses of whatever they found, and made prisoners of whom they pleased: they also murdered several.

Soon after they had possession of Mante, a detachment of Bretons advanced to Meulan, a league distant, and very cunningly entered it. They said they were men at arms whom sir William de Gravelle had sent thither, and that as many or more had remained at Mante. The people of Meulan believed the truth of this the more readily because they came by the road from Mante, and because they could not have crossed the river but by the bridge of Mante. Thinking what they had told them must be true, they opened their gates, which were instantly seized by the Bretons, who entered, crying out, 'St. Yves Guesclin!' and began to lay about

them with their arms. When the misdoers found themselves thus deceived, and that there were no hopes of redress, they died and died themselves as well as they could.

Thus were Maure and Meulan taken, to the great joy of the duke of Normandy. The king of Navarre was in a furious rage, when he was informed of it: he directly reinforced all his towns and castles with troops and well tried officers: for he was much chagrined at losing Maure and Meulan, as they were to him convenient entrances into France.

This same week, the count de Buch arrived at Cherbourg with four hundred men at arms. The king of Navarre was well pleased therewith, and received him most graciously. In his complaints against the duke of Normandy, he was very sore upon his losses of the towns of Maure and Meulan, which, he said, had been taken from him by stealth. The count replied: "My lord, if it please God, we will go and meet your enemies, and exert ourselves so effectually that, God willing, you shall speedily have again possession of these, as well as many other towns and castles. It is said that the king of France will very soon go to Rheims, for his coronation: we will therefore at that time begin our march on his country."

The king of Navarre, being much rejoiced at the arrival of the count de Buch, said he should send him on an expedition into France. The king sought for men at arms wherever he could get them, or where there was any likelihood of obtaining them.

There

There was at that time in Normandy, an English knight who formerly had borne arms for the king of Navarre: his name was sir John Jouel\*; a very able and expert man in his profession. He commanded about two or three hundred lances. The king of Navarre sent to intreat him to serve under him, together with his men; which sir John Jouel consented to, and waited on him to place himself under his orders.

The duke of Normandy was informed that the king of Navarre was collecting large bodies of men at arms, and that the capital de Buch was to be the commander of them. He therefore formed his resolutions, and wrote to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, to order him and his Bretons to make a stand against the Navarrois, and that he would speedily send him sufficient reinforcements to offer battle to the troops of the king of Navarre. At the same time, he ordered the lord de Boucicaut to remain at Mante and Meulan.

Sir Bertrand and his Bretons departed, and took up their quarters near to Vernon. In a few days afterward, the duke of Normandy sent to him some noble men at arms; such as the earl of Auxerre, the viscount de Beaumont, the lord de Beaujeu, the lord Louis de Châlons, the archpriest, the master of the cross-bowmen, and many other knights and squires.

---

\* Sir John Jouel. Barnes calls him sir John Jones; but he quotes no authority for this change from all the chronicles and memoirs of the times.

mont thus heard himself called upon, he turned his horse about, lowered his lance, and made straight for sir Guy. These two knights met each other with such force, that their lances were shivered on their shields; but they were so firm in their seats that neither was unhorsed, as they passed each other. On their return, they drew their swords; and, at the same time, both their companies began to fight so furiously, that in the course of the rencounter many were unhorsed on each side.

The Bretons acquitted themselves most loyally; but in the end they could not maintain their ground, for numbers increased upon them every moment so that they were all killed or made prisoners: none escaped. Sir Beaumont de Laval was taken by sir Guy de Graville, and brought as his prisoner to the castle of Evreux, whither all the other prisoners were conducted. Thus ended this adventure; for which sir Guy was much praised, and beloved by the king of Navarre and the citizens of Evreux.

---

#### CHAP. CCXIX.

THE KING OF CYPRUS RETURNS TO PARIS.—THE FUNERAL OF KING JOHN AT ST. DENIS.—THE CAPTAL DE BUCH MAKES AN ATTACK ON SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN.

**T**HE king of Cyprus, who was now returned from Aquitaine to France, went to meet the king, who had before borne the title of duke of Normandy. His two brothers, the duke of Anjou, and the lord



Philip, since duke of Burgundy, were with the duke waiting for the corpse of their father, which was on the road from England. The king of Cyprus very cordially condoled with them on the subject of their loss; and was himself much affected by the death of the king of France, because his expedition would be retarded by it; he clothed himself in black for his mourning.

When the body of the king of France, which had been embalmed and put into a coffin, approached near to Paris, attended by the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Dampmartin, and the grand prior of France, the duke of Normandy, his brothers, the king of Cyprus and the greater part of the clergy of Paris, went on foot beyond St. Denis, to meet it. On being brought thither, it was buried with great solemnity; and the archbishop of Sens said mass on the day of interment.

After the service was over, and dinner ended, (which was very magnificent) the great lords and prelates returned to Paris. There were then held many councils on the state of the kingdom, which could not any longer do well without a king; and it was determined by the prelates and nobles, that they should immediately go for Rheims. The duke of Normandy (for such was still his title) wrote to his uncle, Winceslaus duke of Brabant\* and Luxembourg, and also to his cousin the earl of Flan-

---

\* Duke of Brabant, son of the emperor Charles IV.

*Genealogies.*

ders,

ders\*, to request their attendance at his coronation, which was fixed for Trinity-day next ensuing†.

Whilst

\* Earl of Flanders,—Lewis II. the last earl of Flanders. He was stabbed in a quarrel by John, son of the king of France, at Boulogne, 1382.—ANDERSON.

† As the account of the funeral of king John is very different in the superb edition of les Grand Chroniques de St. Denis, in my possession, I translate it.

‘ This Tuesday, the 1st day of May, 1364, the body of king John who had died at London, as has been related, was brought to the abbey of St. Anthony, near Paris. It remained there until the Sunday following, that preparations might be made for the funeral. On that day, the 5th of May, it was transported from thence to the church of Nôtre Dame, attended by processions on foot from all the churches of Paris, and by three of the king’s sons, namely, Charles duke of Normandy, Lewis duke of Anjou, and Philip duke of Teroüenne : the king of Cyprus was also there.

‘ The body was carried by the members of his parliament, as had been the usage with other kings, because they represent the person of the king in matters of justice, which is the fairest jewel in his crown, and by which he reigns. On the Monday morning solemn mass was sung in the church of Nôtre Dame; and, soon afterward, the body was carried to St. Denis in the same manner as it had been brought from the abbey of St. Anthony. The three princes and the king of Cyprus followed on foot, as far as the gate of St. Landri, where they mounted their horses, and accompanied the body to the town of St. Denis, where, on their arrival, they dismounted, and, as before, followed the body on foot to the church.

† There was formerly a gate called Port St. Landri, near to St. Germain l’Auxerrois. It was built up in the year 1558.—*M. Sauval, Antiquites de Paris.*

‘ On

Whilst these things were going forwards, and the nobles were making preparations for the coronation, the French and Navarrais were advancing towards each other in Normandy: the captal de Buch was already in the city of Evreux, collecting his men at arms and soldiers from every place he could get them. We will speak of him and of sir Bertrand de Guesclin, as well as of a famous battle which was fought the Thursday preceding Trinity Sunday, the day the duke was to be crowned king of France (and indeed he was) in the cathedral of the city of Rheims.

When the lord John de Grielly, known by the appellation of the captal de Buch, had completed his numbers of archers and foot-soldiers in the city of Evreux, he made his final arrangements, and appointed as governor of it a knight called the lord Michael d'Orgery. He sent to Conches\* the lord Guy de Graville, to defend that place as a sort of frontier. He then marched with all his men at arms and archers; for he had heard that the French were abroad, but was not certain in what quarter.

---

\* On Tuesday, the 7th day of May, the obsequies of the late king were performed in the church of St. Denis, and the body was interred on the left hand of the high altar.

\* Shortly after mass, king Charles, the eldest son of the late king, went into the meadow, and there received the hommages of the peers of France and other great barons. He then went to dinner, and remained at St. Denis that and the following day. On the Thursday, king Charles left that town, to prepare for his coronation, which was fixt for the Trinity Sunday following.

\* Conches,—a market-town in Normandy, four leagues from Evreux.

He

He took the field, very desirous of finding them; and, having mustered his army, he found he had seven hundred lances, and full three hundred archers; with five hundred other serviceable men. There were among them several good knights and squires, especially a banneret of the kingdom of Navarre, named the lord Saulx; but the greatest and most expert, with the largest company of men at arms and archers in his train, was an English knight, called sir John Jouel. There were also the lord Peter de Saqueville, the lord William de Gaville, the lord Bertrand du Franc, Basque de Marneil, and many others, who were eager to meet sir Bertrand du Guesclin, to give him battle. They marched towards Passy\* and Pont de l'Arche, thinking the French would pass the Seine there, if in truth they had not already crossed it.

It chanced that, as on the Whitfun-Wednesday, the captal and his companions were riding through a wood, he met a herald, whose name was Faucon, and who had that morning left the French army. As soon as the captal saw him, he recognized him, for he was one of the king of England's heralds, and asked him from whence he came, and if he could give them any intelligence of the French army. 'Yes, that I can, in God's name, my lord,' replied he; 'for I only left them this day: they are seeking after you, and are very anxious to meet with you.' 'Where are they?' asked the captal, on this or on the other side

---

\* Passy,—a town in Normandy, four leagues from Evreux.

force them to meet. When the captal had heard from Faucon the numbers the French army consisted of, he immediately dispatched messengers to the captains who were in the city of Evreux, with orders for them to send him as many recruits and young gallants\* to his assistance as they could possibly collect: they were to meet him at Cocherel†; for, supposing that he should find the French in that neighbourhood, he had determined to fight them wherever he should meet them.

When the messengers came to Evreux, the lord Michael d'Orgery had it publicly cried, and strictly ordered all those who were horsemen to join the captal. Upon this, there immediately set out one hundred and twenty young companions from that town.

On the Wednesday the captal de Buch took up his quarters, about two o'clock, on a mountain, and encamped his army. The French, who were wishing to meet them, marched straight forwards until they came to a river, called Yton, in that country, which runs towards Evreux, having its source near Conches, and encamped themselves at their ease, this same Wednesday, in a handsome meadow, through which this river runs.

On the morrow, the Navarrais decamped, and sent their scouts out, to examine whether they could

\* Young gallants. In all the originals, it is 'jeunes armerets,' which D. Savage thinks should be bannerets, but I do not see why. In du Cange, *armeret* is a gallant, and thus I have translated it.

† Cocherel,—a village in Normandy, diocèse of Evreux.

learn any news of the French. The French also sent out their scouts on the same errand. Before they had gone two leagues, each brought back to his army such intelligence as could be depended upon.

The Navarrais, conducted by Faucon, marched straight by the way he had come, and, by four o'clock in the morning, found themselves in the plains of Cocherel, with the French in front of them, who were already drawing up their army in battle-array. There were a great many banners and pennons flying; and they seemed to be in number more than half as many again as themselves.

The Navarrais directly halted on the outside of a small wood. The captains assembled together, and began to form their men in order of battle.

They first formed three battalions well and handsomely on foot, sending their baggage and attendants into the wood. Sir John Jouel commanded the first battalion of English, which consisted of men at arms and archers. The capital de Buch had the second battalion, which, one with another, was about four hundred combatants. With the capital, there were the lord of Saulx in Navarre, a young knight who had a banner, the lord William de Gaville, and the lord Peter de Saque-ville. The third battalion had three knights; the lord Basque de Marneil\*, the lord Bertrand de Franc and the lord Saufeloppins, and were in the whole about four hundred men under arms.

---

\* Lord Basque de Marneil. In the memoirs of Bertrand, he is called Bascou de Manuel, and the baron de Marceuil.

When

When they had formed their battalions, they marched them not far distant from each other, taking advantage of the mountain which was on their right, between them and the wood, posting their front upon this mountain facing their enemies, and fixing, by orders of the capital, his banner in the midst of a large thorn bush. He commanded sixty men to remain there, to guard and defend it. They had so placed it to serve as a standard for them to rally round, if by chance of war they should be dispersed or separated; and they strictly ordered, that no one should, on any pretence, descend the mountain; but if their enemies wished to fight, they must come to seek them.

---

#### CHAP. CCXX.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE FRENCH UNDER SIR BERTRAND DE GUESCLIN. AND THE NAVARROIS UNDER THE CAPITAL DE BUCH, AT COCHEREL IN NORMANDY.—THE CAPITAL IS MADE PRISONER, AND VICTORY DECLARES FOR THE FRENCH.

**T**HUS drawn out and formed were the English and Navarrais, who remained, as I have said, upon the mountain. The French, in the mean time, arranged themselves into three battalions also, and a rear-guard.

Sir Bertrand de Guesclin commanded the first battalion, which was composed of all his Bretons, and they were fronted opposite to the battalion of capital. The earl of Auxerre had the second bat-

battalion. There were with him, as his advisers, the viscount de Beaumont, and the lord Baudoin d'Ennequin, grand master of the cross-bows. There were also in that battalion French, Picards and Normans, and sir Odoart de Renty, sir Enguerrant de Hesdin, sir Louis de Havenquerque, with several other good knights and squires. The third battalion consisted of Burgundians, commanded by the archpriest: with him were the lord de Châlons, the lord de Beaujeu, the lord John de Vienne, the lord Guy de Felay, the lord Hugh de Vienne, and many more. This battalion was to oppose Basque de Marneil and his company. The other battalion, which was to serve as a rear-guard, was entirely composed of Gascons; and they were commanded by the lord Edmund de Pommiers, the lord Soul-dich de la Trane, the lord Perdiccas d'Albret, and the lord Petiton de Courton.

These captains had a grand consultation. They considered the arrangement of the capital, and that his people had fixed his banner in a bush, with part of his men guarding it, as if it were to serve as a standard: they therefore said, 'It is absolutely necessary, when the combat shall begin, that we march directly for this banner of the capital, and that we exert ourselves as much as possible to gain it; for, if we be successful, our enemies will be much disheartened, and incur great danger of being conquered.'

These Gascons thought also of another plan which was of great service to them, and was the cause of their gaining the day. As soon as the



French had formed their line, the principal Gasccon chiefs withdrew together, and consulted for a long time how they could best act; for they saw that their enemies, from their position, had greatly the advantage over them. One of them made a proposal, which was eagerly listened to: 'My lords, we well know that the capital is as hardy a knight as can be found upon earth: and, as long as he shall be able to keep with his men and fight, he will be too much for us. I therefore think that if we order thirty of our boldest and most expert cavaliers, to do nothing but to follow and attack the capital, whilst we are making for his banner, his men will be thrown into some confusion: and then our thirty, by their own strength and that of their horses, will be able to push through the crowd, and advance so near the capital, that they may seize him and carry him off between them to some place of safety, where they will remain until the end of the battle; for, if he can be taken by such means as this, the day will be ours, as his army will be panic-struck\*.'

The Gasccon knights immediately assented to this plan, saying it was well thought of and should be followed. They chose from their battalion, thirty of the most enterprising men at arms, and mounted them upon the strongest and most active horses they had with them. They then marched into the plain,

---

\* The editors of the *Memoires Historiques* doubt very much this fact, in a note to the *Memoires du Guesclin*, and think Froissart is wrong a Gasccon.

well instructed what they were to do. The army remained where it was, on foot, in order of battle.

When the French had thus drawn up their forces, and each knew what he was to do, the chiefs held a consultation, and long debated what war-cry they should use, and whose banner or pennon they should fix on as a rallying point. They for a long time determined to cry, 'Nôtre Dame Auxerre!' and to make the earl of Auxerre their commander for that day. But the earl would not by any means accept of it, excusing himself by saying; 'My lords, I return you many thanks for the good opinion you have of me, and for the honor you offer me; but at this moment I cannot accept of such an office, for I am too young to undertake so honorable a charge. This is the first pitched battle I was ever at: for which reason I must beg of you to make another choice. We have here many very able and enterprising knights, such as my lord Bertrand du Guesclin, my lord the archpriest, my lord the grand master of the cross-bows, my lord Lewis de Châlons, my lord Edmund de Pommiers and sir Odoart de Renty, who have been in many hard engagements, and know much better than I do what in such cases is proper to be done. I must, therefore, intreat you to excuse me from accepting your honorable offer.'

The chiefs, after looking at each other, said: 'Earl of Auxerre, you are the highest by birth, and of the largest property and estates of any of us: you have therefore the right of being our chief.' 'Certainly, my lords,' replied the earl of Auxerre, 'what you say is very pleasing to me; but this day

I will only rank as one of your companions; and, whether I live or die, I will hazard the adventure among you; but, as to the command, I am determined not to accept it.'

They again looked at each other, in order to see whom they should fix on for their chief. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was unanimously thought on, and considered as the best knight of the whole company, one who had been engaged in the greatest number of battles, and who was the best informed in military affairs.

It was therefore resolved they should cry, 'Notre Dame Guesclin!' and that the whole arrangement of that day should be as sir Bertrand would order it.

Every thing, therefore, being settled, each lord retired to his banner or pennon. They found that their enemies were still upon the hill, and had not quitted their strong situation (not having a desire or thought of so doing), which very much vexed the French, seeing that they had greatly the advantage where they were, and that the sun was beginning to be high, which was the more to their disadvantage, for it was at that season very hot. This delay was what the most able and expert knights dreaded; for they were as yet fasting, and had not brought with them any wine or victuals worth mentioning, except some of the lords, who had small flagons of wine that were soon emptied, and none had been procured or thought of in the morning, as they imagined the engagement would begin on their arrival: but this, as it appeared, was not the case. The English and Navarrais deceived them thus by  
and it was a late hour before they engaged.

When

When the French lords perceived their situation, they assembled in council, to know what would be the best for them to do, and whether they should march to attack them or not. In this council, all were not of the same opinion. Some wished to fight whatever might be the consequences; for, they said, it would be shameful for them to make any difficulties about it. But others, better advised, said, that if they should begin the combat, situated as they were so much to their disadvantage, they would be in the greatest danger, and out of five men they should certainly lose three. In short, they could not agree to fight in their present position.

During this time, the Navarrais saw them very plainly, and how they were formed: they said to each other, 'Look at them: they will very soon come to us, for they have a good will so to do.'

There were among them some knights and squires of Normandy, that had been made prisoners by the English and Navarrais, who had been allowed perfect liberty to go and ride about wherever they pleased, upon the faith of their word of honor, provided they did not bear arms in favor of the French. They rode towards the French army, and, in conversation, said to the French lords; 'My lords, consider what you are about; for, should this day pass without an engagement, your enemies will to-morrow receive a very large reinforcement; as it is reported among them, that the lord Louis de Navarre is on his road to join them with at least four hundred lances.'

This intelligence much inclined the French to attack the Navarrais at all events : they were made ready for it two or three different times : but the wiser advice got the better. Those lords said, ' Let us wait a little longer, and see what they will do ; for they are so proud and presumptuous that they are as eager to fight us as we are to meet them.' Many of them were very ill and faint, from the great heat, as it was now about noon ; they had fasted all the morning, and had been under arms ; they were therefore much heated by the sun, which affected them doubly through their armour. They said, therefore, ' If we attempt to fight them by ascending the hill in our present state, we shall most certainly be beaten ; but if we retreat to our quarters, through the necessity of the case, by to-morrow morning we shall form a better plan.' Thus had they different opinions on what was to be done.

When the knights of France (to whose honor the command of this army was intrusted) saw the English and Navarrais were not inclined to quit their strong hold, and that it was now mid-day ; having heard the information which the French prisoners who had visited their army had given, and having considered that the greater part of their men were exceedingly hurt and faint, through the heat ; they met together, by the advice of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, whose orders they obeyed, and held another council.

' My lords,' said he, ' we perceive that our enemies are very eager to fight us, and have a great wish for it ; but, however violent they may be, they  
 3 will

will not descend from their strong position, unless by a plan which I shall propose to you. We will make dispositions, as if for a retreat, not intending to fight this day; (our men, indeed, are severely afflicted by the great heat); and order our servants, baggage, horses, &c. to cross the bridge and river, and retire to our quarters: we will, at the same time, keep close to them, watching attentively the enemy's motions. If they really wish to fight us, they will descend the hill, and follow us into the plain. As soon as we shall perceive their motions, if they act as I think they will, we shall be ready armed to wheel about, and thus shall have them more to our advantage.' This proposal was approved of by all, and considered as the best that could have been offered.

Each lord, therefore, returned to his people, under his banner or pennon. The trumpets sounded as for a retreat, and every knight and squire ordered his servants to cross the river with their baggage. This the greater part did, and afterward the men at arms followed, but very slowly.

When sir John Jouel (who was an expert and valiant knight, and eager to engage with the French) saw the manner of their retreat, he said to the capital, 'My lord, my lord, let us now descend boldly: do you not see how the French are running away?' 'Ha,' replied the capital, 'they are only doing so out of malice, and to draw us down.'

Sir John Jouel upon this advanced forward (for he was very desirous of fighting), crying out, 'St. George!' and said to his battalions, 'March: those

The English and Navarrais shouted out, ' St. George ! ' the French, ' Nôtre Dame Guefclin ! '

In this battle, there were many good knights on the side of the French : sir Bertrand de Guefclin, the young earl of Auxerre, the viscount de Beaumont, sir Baudoin d'Ennequin, grand master of the cross-bows, the lord Louis de Châlons, lord Anthony the young lord de Beaujeu, who raised his banner for the first time, the lord Anthony de Kanerley, sir Odoart de Renty, sir Enguerrand de Hêdin.

In like manner, in the battalion of Gascons, who were drawn up by themselves, there combated most valiantly, sir Aymon de Pommiers, sir Perdiccas d'Albret, the souldich de la Trane, sir Petiton de Courton, and several others of the same sort. This battalion was formed opposite to that of the capital, which consisted of Gascons also, and they were very desirous of meeting. There were many hard blows given, and many valorous deeds of arms performed on each side ; for no one should wilfully lie.

It may be asked, ' What became of the archpriest, who was an excellent knight, and had the command of a battalion, that I have not hitherto made any mention of him ? I will tell the truth. As soon as the archpriest saw the enemies drawn up, and that the battle was going to begin in earnest, he quitted his company, but said to his people, and particularly to his banner-bearer ; ' I order and command you, under pain of my greatest displeasure, that you remain where you are, and wait the event of the battle.

I set



I set out directly from hence, not meaning to return; for I can neither bear arms nor fight against some of the knights that are with the enemy. If any one should inquire after me, this is the answer that you will give him.' He then set out, accompanied by a single squire, re-crossed the river, and left the others to make the best of it. They did not notice his absence, as they saw his banner, and thought he was among them, until the business was over.

I will now speak of this battle, and how it was stiffly maintained. At the commencement of the conflict, when sir John Jouel had descended the hill, he was followed by all as closely as they could, and even by the captain and his company, who thought they should have gained the day; but it turned out otherwise.

When they perceived that the French had wheeled about in good order, they immediately found they had been deceived. However, like determined men, they were not panic-struck at the discovery, but were resolved to recover it by their gallantry in the combat.

They retreated a little, then assembled together, and after that they opened the ranks to give room to their archers, who were in their rear, to make use of their bows. When the archers were advanced in front, they extended themselves, and began to exert themselves handsomely in shooting; but the French were so strongly armed and shielded against their arrows, they were but little hurt by them, if at all, and for this did not fight the less valiantly, but inter-  
mixed



mixed themselves with the English and Navarrais, as did the English with them, equally eager in the combat.

There was much hacking and cutting of each other, with lances and battle-axes, seizing each other by main strength and wrestling. They took and ransomed prisoners from each alternately, and were so much intermixed together, that they engaged man to man, and behaved with a degree of valour scarcely to be credited but by eye-witnesses.

You may easily imagine that in such a crowd, and so situated, numbers were thrown down, wounded and killed: for neither side spared the other. The French had need not to sleep on their bridles; for they had opposed to them men of ability and determined enterprise. Each, therefore, loyally agreed, not only to defend himself and his post vigorously, but to take every advantage that should offer: if they had not done so, they must have been defeated. In truth, I must say, that the Bretons and Gascons were good men, and performed many gallant feats of arms.

I wish now to speak of the thirty who had been selected to attack the capital. They had been excellently mounted, on the best horses of the army, and attentive to nothing but their orders (as, being so charged, they were bound to do): they advanced in a close body towards the capital, who was using his battle-axe manfully, and gave such deadly strokes with it that none dared approach him. They pushed through the crowd by the strength of their  
horses,

horses, as well as by the help of some Gascons who had accompanied them.

These thirty men, who, as you have seen, were so well mounted, and who knew well what they were to do, neither looking to the risk nor danger, made up directly to the capital and surrounded him. They all fell upon him, and carried him off by dint of force, quitting the spot directly. This created great confusion, and all the battalions drew thitherward; for the capital's men were like to madmen, shouting out, 'Rescue, rescue the capital!' All this, nevertheless, was of no service or help to them; for, in fact, the capital was carried off in the manner I have related, and placed in safety. However, at the moment this happened, it was not truly known which side had the best of the battle.

In this grand bustle and confusion, whilst the Navarrais and English, like madmen, were following the capital, who had been captured before their eyes, sir Aymon de Pommiers, sir Petiton de Courtón, the souldich de la Trane, and the company of the lord d'Albret, determined unanimously to make for the banner of the capital, which was fixed in a bush, and which served as a standard for the Navarrais.

The attack and defence were equally sharp and vigorous; for it was guarded by good men: particularly, by sir Bascon de Marneil and sir Geoffry de Rouffillon: many were wounded, killed, unhorsed and rescued. The Navarrais, at last, who were near this bush and about the banner, were  
broken

broken in upon and forced to retreat. Sir Baston de Marneil with several others were slain. Sir Geoffry de Rouffillon was made prisoner by sir Aymon de Pommiers. The banner of the capital was immediately seized: and those who defended it were either killed, taken, or had retreated so far that there was no news of them.

Whilst the banner of the capital was thus conquered, torn and dragged upon the ground by the Gascons, the Bretons, the French, the Picards, the Normans and Burgundians were most valiantly fighting in another part of the field; and well it behoved them so to do, for the Navarrais had made them retreat. Among the French, there was already killed the viscount de Beaumont; the more the pity, for he was a young knight, well formed to do great things. His people, to their great sorrow, had carried him out of the battle, and guarded him, as I have heard related, by those of both sides. No one had ever seen a battle, with the like number of combatants, so well fought as this was; for they were all on foot, and combated hand to hand, intermixing with each other, and striving for victory with the arms they used, and, in particular, with those battle-axes which gave such astonishingly fatal blows.

Sir Petiton de Courton and the souldich de la Trane were sorely wounded, insomuch that they could do no service during the remainder of the day. Sir John Jouel, by whom the combat began, and who had most courageously attacked and fought the French, performed, that day, many very gallant feats of arms, and never deigned once to retreat.

treat. He had been engaged so far in the battle that he was grievously wounded in several parts of the head and body, and at last made prisoner by a squire of Brittany under sir Bertrand du Guesclin : he was then carried out of the crowd.

At length, the French gained the field ; but on their side there were killed the grand master of the cross-bows, sir Louis de Havenquerque, and many others. On the side of the Navarrais, the lord de Saulx and numbers of his people were slain.

Sir John Jouel died in the course of the day. There were made prisoners, sir William de Gravelle, sir Peter de Sequainville, sir Geoffry de Rouffillon, sir Bertrand du Franc, and several more. Few of the Navarrais escaped being slain or taken. This battle was fought in Normandy, pretty near to Cocherel, on a Thursday, the 24th day of May, 1364\*.

After this defeat, when all the dead were stripped, and those who had made prisoners had put them aside and attended to the wounded ; when the greater part of the French, having re-passed the bridge, were retiring bruised and weary, to their quarters ; sir Guy de Gravelle, son of sir William de Gravelle, who had been made a prisoner, having in haste left Conches (a garrison-town of the Na-

\* It is singular enough, that the date of so memorable a battle should not have been more certainly known. Historians place it the 23d May, 1364. Du Châtelet reports ancient eds, which prove it to have been the 16th May.

\* Froissart, in relating this battle, differs from our memoirs in several details, &c.—*Memoires Historiques*, vol. iv.

varrais);

varrois), with fifty lancemen, intending to join the capital, came on full speed to the field where the battle had been fought. Upon which, the French in the rear cried out, ' Let us turn back, for here are more enemies.'

On hearing this, sir Aymon and his company, who had remained on the field, seeing these Navarrais advancing, fixed his pennon aloft in a bush, as a rallying post for the French. When sir Guy saw this, and heard the shout of ' Nôtre Dame Guefclin !' and that none of his party appeared, but plenty of dead bodies were lying around, he soon found that the Navarrais had been discomfited ; he therefore quickly faced about, and returned the way he came.

In the evening, the French examined those prisoners whom they had in their tents. The archpriest was much inquired about, and spoken of, when it was found that he had not been in the engagement : his people made the best excuses for him they could. You must know that the thirty cavaliers who had carried off the capital, as you have heard, never halted until they had brought him safe to Vernon, and lodged him in the castle. On the morrow, the French decamped, and marched to the city of Rouen, where they left a part of their prisoners.

## CHAP. CCXXI.

CHARLES V. SURNAMED THE WISE, IS CROWNED KING OF FRANCE.—HIS BROTHER PHILIP IS INVESTED WITH THE DUCHY OF BURGUNDY, AND SENT AGAINST THE FREE COMPANIES OF PILLAGERS.

ON Trinity-day 1364, king Charles, eldest son of the late king John of France, was crowned and consecrated king, in the great church of our Lady at Rheims, by the archbishop of that city; and with him his queen, the daughter of duke Peter of Bourbon. The king of Cyprus, the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, the lord Wenceslaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and Brabant, the earls of Eu, of Dampmartin, of Tancarville, of Vaudemont, and great numbers of other lords and prelates were present at this ceremony.

There were great entertainments and feasts at Rheims, during the time the king remained, which was five days: he then departed for Paris. It would take me a long time were I to relate all the fine shews and feasts the Parisians made for him at his entry. The lords after this, that is to say, the strangers who had come to his coronation, returned to their own countries.

When the king of France was come back to Paris, he gave the investiture of the duchy of Burgundy to his youngest brother, who left Paris with a noble company, in order to take possession and receive the homage of the barons, knights, cities,

cities, castles and large towns in that duchy. After he had visited the whole country, he returned to Paris.

He brought with him the archpriest, who appeased the anger of the king, which he had incurred by not fighting at the battle of Cocherel, by the fair reasons he gave for not bearing arms against the capital\*. The capital had been brought a prisoner to Paris, and, through the intercession of the lord d'Albret, obtained his liberty on his parole. He also assisted the archpriest to excuse himself towards the king, as well as towards the French knights who had talked very scurvily of him, notwithstanding he had overthrown lately, in a part of Burgundy, beyond Dijon, four hundred pillagers; over whom Guillot du Pin, Taillebert, Taillebourdon and John de Chaufour were captains.

About this time, the king of France ordered sir Peter de Sequainville to be beheaded in the city of Rouen, for having taken the part of the Navarrais. Sir William de Graille would have undergone the same punishment, if his son, sir Guy, had not signified to the king of France, that whatever treatment his

---

\* The archpriest, according to the life of Charles V. by the abbé de Choisy, had oftentimes changed sides: sometimes for the king of France, but oftener for the king of Navarre, because there was more licence allowed the soldiers of his army. After the peace, he pillaged various provinces of France. In his retreat from the emperor Charles IV. near Macon in Burgundy, he was assassinated by his own men. His death gave great joy to the people, whom he had robbed for ten years successively.—*Histoire de Charles V.* p. 88.

father suffered, he would do the like to sir Beaumont de Laval, a great lord of Brittany, whom he kept as his prisoner. Upon this, the family of sir Beaumont interceded with the king, and exerted themselves so effectually that they obtained the exchange of sir Beaumont for sir William de Gravelle\*.

Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, at this time, gained the castle of Roulleboise, by presenting the governor of it, sir Vautaire Austard, with six thousand francs, who retired to Brabant, whence he had come.

Many large companies of pillagers still kept possession of different forts in the countries of Caux, Normandy, Beauce, and Perche, whence they greatly harassed the kingdom of France: some under pretence of serving the king of Navarre; others, for themselves, robbed and destroyed the country without any claims of right or of reason.

The king of France sent his brother, the duke of Burgundy, against these pillagers, who appointed his rendezvous in the city of Chartres. He then took the field, accompanied by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the lord de Boucicaut, the earl of Auxerre, the lord Louis de Châlons, the lord de Beaujeu, sir

---

\* In the *Mémoires Historiques*, note 31, of Bertrand du Guesclin, it is said, that sir William de Gravelle was ransomed from sir Guy de Bayeux, who had taken him, for one thousand florins, and that the king was so much angered by it, against Bayeux and his children, they were forced to leave the kingdom: the king afterwards pardoned them. In the continuation, however, of this note, it is related nearly the same as Froissart tells us.



Aymon de Pommiers, the lord Raineval, Pierre de Villaines, surnamed le Bègue, the lord Nicholas de Ligne, grand master of the cross-bows, sir Odoart de Renti, sir Enguerrand de Hêdin, and full five thousand combatants.

When they found they mustered so strong, they divided themselves into three bodies; from which sir Bertrand took, at the most, one thousand fighting men, and marched for the country of Coutantin, towards the neighbourhood of Cherbourg, to guard the frontiers, and to prevent the Navarrais from doing any mischief to Normandy. The lord of Sancerre, the earl of Joigny, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, and a crowd of knights and squires from Brittany and Normandy, accompanied sir Bertrand.

Another division was under the command of the lord John de la Riviere; and with him were many knights and squires of France and Picardy, whom he sent towards Evreux.

The duke had the largest division. He went and laid siege to the castle of Marcheville\*, which was a very strong fortress, in possession of the Navarrais. He ordered many machines to be brought from Chartres, by which he flung into it stones and other things day and night, that much annoyed the garrison.

---

\* Marcheville, — a town in Beauce, diocese of Chartres.

THE LORD LEWIS OF NAVARRE MAKES INCURSIONS INTO FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY PLANS SEVERAL EXPEDITIONS AGAINST HIM, BUT IS FORCED TO GO INTO BURGUNDY, TO DEFEND IT AGAINST THE EARL DE MONTBELLIART.

**W**HILST these men at arms were harassing the Navarrois and enemies of the realm, in Beauce and in Normandy, the lord Lewis of Navarre (the lord Philip being dead) had taken upon himself the management of the war for his brother the king of Navarre, and had sent a challenge to the king of France, because the object of this war was personal to their family, being for a right of inheritance. He had therefore assembled men at arms ever since the battle of Cocherel, and was collecting them from every part he could get them. He had been so active himself, and by means of the captains of companies, of which great numbers still remained in France, that he had assembled upwards of twelve hundred lances.

With him were sir Robert Knolles\*, sir Robert Ceny†, and sir Robert Briquet de Carfnellet‡. The

---

\* Sir Robert Knolles was a great captain, and the maker of his own fortune. There is a doubt if he were or were not a knight of the Garter (No. 74). See M. Anflis. Having considered the different very great employments he held, &c. I am inclined to believe he was of the Garter.

† Sir Robert Ceny,—sir Robert Cheney. See his pedigree in M. Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. His descendants were called to the house of peers, 3d Henry VII.

‡ Sir Robert Briquet de Carfnelle. I can find nothing about him.

men at arms, who were every day increasing, were quartered between the rivers Loire and Allier\*, and had overrun a part of the Bourbonnois and Auvergne, between Moulins†, St. Pierre le Moustier‡ and St. Pourfaint§. From this body, whom the lord Lewis de Navarre commanded, a company of about three thousand were detached under the orders of Bertrand de la Salle and Ortingo. They crossed the Loire above Marcilly les Nonnains||, and pushed forward with so much haste, that by day-break they came before la Charité¶, a large and well inclosed town upon the Loire.

This they immediately scaled without any opposition; and, having entered the town, took possession of that part of it; but, as they were fearful lest the townspeople might have laid an ambuscade for them, they dared not advance further until it should be broad day.

During this delay, the inhabitants of the town embarked all their most valuable things in boats which were on the river Loire, and, having also placed their wives and children in them, sailed off

---

\* Allier,—a river in Languedoc, which rises in the Gevaudan, near the village of Coudray, whence, flowing northwards, it traverses Auvergne and the Bourbonnois, and then, entering the Nivernois, falls into the Loire, about a league above Nevers.

† Moulins,—capital of the Bourbonnois, on the Allier.

‡ St. Pierre le Moustier,—a town of the Nivernois.

§ St. Pourfaint,—a town of Auvergne.

|| Marcilly les Nonnains—a village in Berry, election of la Charité.

¶ La Charité,—a town in the Nivernois.

in safety towards the city of Nevers, which was five leagues distant.

The English, Navarrois and Gascons, who had entered the town, upon day appearing, marched forwards, but found all the houses empty. Upon this, they called a council, to consider if they should keep possession of the town, and fortify it; for it would be very convenient for them, as a place of strength, to attack each side of the Loire.

They sent to inform the lord Lewis de Navarre of their situation, who was at that time in Auvergne, and who immediately dispatched to them sir Robert Briquet, with three hundred armed men. They crossed the country without molestation, and entered the town of la Charité, by the bridge over the Loire. When they were thus assembled together, they were in such force, they began to make grievous war upon the kingdom of France.

We will return to the duke of Burgundy, whom we left besieging Marcheville. He had done so much by his machines and by his assaults, that the garrison surrendered upon having their lives and fortune spared. The duke sent the lord de Boucicaut, and the lord John de Vienne, marshal of Burgundy, to take possession of it. He gave the castle to a squire of Beauce, called William de Chartres, and forty men to guard it. The duke then led his army to the castle of Camerolles, which he surrounded, for it is situated in the flat country.

It is time to say something of the lord John de la Riviere, who was besieging Acquigni, near to Passy, in the county of Evreux. He had under him

two thousand good combatants ; for he was so great a favorite with the king that he managed the finances according to his pleasure.

This castle of Acquigni was garrisoned by English, Normans, French and Navarrais, who had fled thither after the battle of Cocherel. They defended themselves well, and were amply provided with artillery and provision. Notwithstanding this, matters were so well managed, that they surrendered upon having their lives and fortunes spared, and carried their property with them to Cherbourg, whither they retired. The lord John placed a new garrison in the castle, and marched towards the city of Evreux.

Under his command, were sir Hugh de Châtillon, the lord of Sanny, the lord Louis de Sancerre, sir Matthew de Roye, the lord of Monfang, the lord of Eloy, the lord of Crequi, the lord of Campy, sir Odoart de Renti, sir Enguerrand de Hédin, and many other knights and squires of France.

In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy pressed so hard upon the garrison of Camerolles, that they were forced to surrender at discretion. All the foreign soldiers were pardoned ; but some French pillagers, who had taken refuge there, were put to death.

Some of the principal burgesses of Chartres came to the duke's camp, to intreat of him to give them the castle of Camerolles, as a recompense for the use of their machines ; for it had done them much harm in former times. The duke consented to their

request; and immediately they sent workmen, who levelled the castle with the ground.

The duke marched next to a castle called Drue, which is situated in the plains of Beauce, and was in the possession of pillagers. He took it by storm, and killed all that were found in it. He then halted before a castle called Preux, and surrounded it on all sides. He made many an assault, in hopes of carrying it; but at last the garrison surrendered on having their lives spared: they carried nothing with them; but all the French remained prisoners at the duke's will.

The duke ordered the castle to be taken possession of by his marshals, and made a present of it to a knight of Beauce, called sir Peter du Bois, in order that he might sufficiently guard and repair it. The duke, and the greater part of his army, went after this to Chartres, to refresh themselves.

When he had been there five or six days, he set out to besiege the castle of Connie\*, which had done much mischief to all the country round, and pointed against it six large machines.

During the time these sieges, assaults, and conquests were going forward in Beauce and Normandy, the lord Lewis de Navarre was overrunning Auvergne. He kept the field, and impoverished the whole country; for no one went forth against him. Those also who were at la Charité upon the Loire did in those parts just what they pleased.

---

\* Connie,—a village in Beauce, election of Châteaudun.

On the other hand, the earl of Montbellart, with some allies from Germany, had entered the duchy of Burgundy, near Befançon, and was despoiling it. On which account, the king of France ordered the duke of Burgundy to raise the siege of Connie, and come to Paris; for it was necessary that he should go into Burgundy.

The duke, on receiving this news, was very penfive; for he had publicly declared, that he would never depart from Connie until he had subjected it to his will. But those of his council made him understand, that since the king, who had sent him thither, ordered him to return, he might very well leave the place without disgrace. Those in Connie had no information whatever respecting this: they were, therefore, summoned by the marshals to surrender unconditionally, which they refused. They said, they were willing to surrender, on having their lives and fortunes spared. These terms were then agreed upon. The duke gave the castle to a squire of Beauce, whose name was Philip d'Arcieres, who repaired it, and garrisoned it with good and trusty men.

The duke went to Chartres, and then gave up the command of the greater division of his army to the earl of Auxerre, Boucicaut and the lord Louis de Sancerre. He set out for Paris, taking with him the lord Louis d'Alençon, the lord of Beaujeu, and the lord of Vienne. He ordered the Burgundians to march towards Burgundy as speedily as possible. But the duke himself went to meet the king, who was at that time at Vaux la Comtesse in Brie. He remained

remained but one day there, and then set out for Troyes in Champagne; whence he took the road to Langres, sending every where for men at arms. The Burgundians were already collected, and drawn out as a frontier to their enemies: the archpriest, the lord of Château Vilain, the lord of Vergey, the lord of Grancy, the lord of Soubournon, the lord of Rougemont, and a very rich man called John of Boulogne, the lord of Prises, sir Hugh de Vienne, the lord du Châtel, the bishop of Langres, and several more, who were all mightily rejoiced on the arrival of the lord duke.

They immediately marched against their enemies, who were full fifteen hundred lances; but they retreated across the Rhine. Upon which, the Burgundians entered the county of Montbelliard, and burnt the greater part of it.

---

#### CHAP. CCXXIII.

**KING CHARLES ORDERS THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TO BESIEGE LA CHARITE.—HE WANTS IT TO SURRENDER UNCONDITIONALLY, THAT HE MAY SEND ASSISTANCE TO LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS, WHO IS CONTESTING THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY WITH THE EARL OF MONTFORT.**

**I**N the interim, the king of France sent his constable, the lord Moreau de Finnes, and two marshals, the lord de Boucicaut and John de Mauquerchi, lord of Blainville, accompanied by many knights and squires, to besiege la Charité upon the Loire.

---



**Loire.** - On their arrival, they attacked it on one side, and every day had skirmishes with the garrison of the place.

When the duke of Burgundy and the greater part of his troops, who had accompanied him into the county of Montbelliard, were returned to Paris, the king sent him, with upwards of a thousand lances, to la Charité.

There were then at that siege three thousand knights and squires, of whom many went every day to skirmish with the garrison; when several were killed and wounded on both sides.

At a sally which the garrison made, the lord Robert of Alençon, son of the earl of Alençon, who was killed at Crecy, and the lord Louis d'Auxerre, who was son of the earl of Auxerre, and brother to the earl of Auxerre, then present, were knighted, and displayed their banners.

The inhabitants of la Charité were very hard pressed, and would willingly have surrendered upon terms; but the duke was resolved to have them unconditionally, and for that reason had guarded the river so that no provision could enter the town.

During this time, the lord Lewis de Navarre, who was destroying every thing before him in the country of Auvergne, exerted himself much, and assembled a sufficient body of men to enable him to raise the siege of la Charité: he had collected two thousand combatants at the least, and had also sent into Brittany to request that sir Robert Knolles, sir Walter Huet, sir Matthew Cournay, and several other knights and squires, would hasten to his assistance. They would have complied cheerfully;

but at the time they were engaged with the earl of Montfort, besieging the castle of Auray\*, who had sworn he would not depart until it had submitted to his pleasure.

When the lord Lewis found he could not have their aid, he retreated, by the orders of his brother, toward Cherbourg. Upon which, the king of France, that the lord Charles de Blois might have more men at arms, commanded the duke of Burgundy to treat with the garrison for their surrendering the town and fort, on condition of not bearing arms for the king of Navarre during three years. The garrison complied with these terms, surrendered la Charité, took nothing with them, and marched out on foot: they passed through the kingdom of France under passports of the duke of Burgundy. The old inhabitants of la Charité now returned back to it, having been forced to reside in other places. The duke went to Paris.

After this, the king of France granted permission for his cousin the lord Charles de Blois, to raise in his kingdom a thousand lances. He again wrote to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who at the time was in Normandy, to march to the assistance of the lord Charles, against the earl of Montfort.

These orders gave sir Bertrand great pleasure, for he had always considered the lord Charles as his natural lord. He set out therefore, from Normandy, with all the troops that were under him, and

---

\* Auray,—a sea-port in Brittany, diocese of Vannes. One of my MSS. says, it was founded by Arthur.

marched

marched through Tours, in his way to Brittany. The lord de Boucicaut went to guard Normandy in his place.

Sir Bertrand continued his march until he came to Nantes, where he met the lord Charles de Blois and his lady. They received him very kindly, and thanked him much for coming to their assistance. They had then a long conference, upon what was to be done ; for they were in the best parts of Brittany, which were much attached to the lord Charles de Blois, as their duke and lord, and willing to support him. They conferred also on the means of raising the siege of Auray, and fighting with the lord John de Montfort.

Within a very short time, many barons and knights came thither from France and Normandy : among whom were the earl of Auxerre, the earl of Joigny, the lord de Franville, the lord de Prie, le Bègue de Villaines, and many other knights and squires, all of the right fort, and good men at arms.

News was brought to the lord John de Montfort, at that time besieging Auray, that the lord Charles de Blois was assembling large bodies of men ; that a number of the lords of France had come to him, and were daily arriving, to assist him, in conjunction with those barons, knights and squires of Brittany who had remained steady to his interest.

As soon as lord John heard this, he made it known in the ducy of Aquitaine to the knights and squires of England who were there, and in particular to sir John Chandos, earnestly intreating them to come to his aid in the difficulties he was  
about

about to encounter: adding, that he expected Brittany would afford such a field of honor, that all knights and squires who were desirous of advancing their name ought most cheerfully to come thither.

When sir John Chandos saw himself thus affectionately intreated by the earl of Montfort, he spoke of it to the prince of Wales, to know how he should act. The prince said, he might go there without any blame, since the French had already taken part against the earl, in support of the lord Charles; and he advised him to accept the invitation.

Sir John Chandos was much rejoiced at this, and made accordingly grand preparations. He asked several knights and squires of Aquitaine to accompany him; but few went except the English. However, he conducted full two hundred lances, and as many archers, and marching through Poitou and Saintonge, entered Brittany. He went straight to the siege of Auray, where he found the earl of Montfort, who was very happy at his arrival; as were sir Oliver de Clifton, sir Robert Knolles and the other companions. It seemed to them, that now no evil could befall them, since sir John Chandos was in their company.

Many knights and squires crossed the sea in haste from England, eager to advance their fortunes, and to fight with the French. They came to the aid of the earl of Montfort, before Auray, who received them all with great joy. They were therefore in all, as well Bretons as English, when mustered, sixteen hundred men at arms, and from eight to nine hundred archers.

We

We will now return to the lord Charles de Blois, who remained in the good city of Nantes, and made there his muster of knights and squires from all parts; for he had been informed that the earl of Montfort had been strongly reinforced by the English. He therefore intreated those barons, knights and squires whose homage he had received, to assist him in guarding his inheritance, and in defending him against his enemies.

Among the barons of Brittany who came to serve him, in obedience to his summons, were the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, Charles de Dinan, de Rieux, de Tournemine, d'Ancenis, de Malefroit, de Quentiu, d'Avaugour, de Lohéac, du Pont, and many others whom I cannot name. These lords and their companies were quartered in the city of Nantes, and in the villages around it.

When they were mustered, they were estimated at two thousand five hundred lances, including those who had come from France. These lords did not wish to make any long stay, but advised the lord Charles to march against his enemies.

When the lord Charles was about to set out, and was taking leave of the lady his wife, she said to him, in the presence of sir Bertrand du Guesclin and some of the barons of Brittany; 'My lord, you are going to defend your inheritance and mine (for that which is mine is yours\*), which the lord John  
de

---

\* Johanna, countess of Penthièvre born 1319, was made heiress of Brittany by her uncle, John III. who, to strengthen her

de Montfort had seized, and has kept for a long time most wrongfully, without any right, as God knows. The barons of Brittany, who are here present, know well that I am the rightful heiress of it. I therefore most earnestly beg and intreat of you, that you will not listen to any treaty, or composition, which may be offered, so that the whole body of the duchy may be ours.' The lord Charles promised to comply with her request.

All the lords, knights and barons, who were at Nantes departed, each having bid adieu to his lady, whom he considered as his duchess. They began their march, and took the road to Rennes\*, where, on their arrival, they were quartered, and in its environs. They halted there to repose and refresh themselves, as well as to learn the numbers and countenance of their enemies, and to consider of the best place to offer battle, in case they should not be able to find a situation which might give them an advantage. Many fine speeches and harangues were made by the knights and squires of France and of Brittany, who had come to the succour of the

her title, gave her in marriage to Charles de Blois, lord of Guyse and Mayenne, nephew of Philip IV. king of France.

\* When the earl of Montfort gained the dukedom and held it from the crown of France, he engaged to give Johanna lands that should yield her 20,000 francs yearly, besides Penthievre and Limoges.'—ANDERSON.

\* Rennes. I believe, with Denys Sauvage, it should be Vannes, consistently with what follows; but it is Rennes, in all my printed editions and MSS. and also in the *Histoire de Bretagne*.

lord

lord Charles de Blois. Lord Charles was very courteous and polite, and perhaps would willingly have listened to terms of peace, and been contented with a part of Brittany, without much wrangling; but he was, in God's name, so hard pressed by the last words of the lady his wife, and the knights of his party, that he could neither draw back nor dissemble.

---

CHAP. CCXXIV.

THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS ADVANCES AGAINST THE EARL OF MONTFORT IN ORDER OF BATTLE. SIR JOHN CHANDOS, AFTER HAVING DRAWN UP THE BATTALIONS OF THE EARL OF MONTFORT, PREVENTS THE TREATY FROM TAKING PLACE WHICH THE LORD DE BEAUMANOIR WAS NEGOTIATING BETWEEN THE TWO PRETENDERS TO THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY.

**B**ETWEEN Vannes and Auray, where the earl of Montfort was encamped, there are eight country leagues; so that news was soon brought to him that the lord Charles was advancing, with the finest body of men at arms, the handsomest equipped and the best ordered that had ever left France. This intelligence gave great joy to the English who were there; for they were eager for the fight. These companions, therefore, immediately set about putting their armour in good repair, and refurbishing their lances, daggers, battle-axes, coats of mail, helmets, scull-caps, visors, swords, and all

forts of weapons, as they well imagined they should soon have use for them.

The commanders of the army then waited on the earl of Montfort; first sir John Chandos (whose advice he meant in particular to follow), sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Robert Knolles, sir Hugh Caverly\*, sir Matthew Gournay†. These knights and barons, having deliberated on their present situation, resolved that it would be most advantageous to quit their quarters early in the morning, and take the field. They might then consider on the best mode of acting against the enemy, when they should have had more exact information concerning them. Orders were therefore given, that the whole army should, on the following morning, be ready armed and in battle-array, as if they were immediately to begin the engagement.

This night passed quietly. On the morrow, which was a Saturday, the English and Bretons issued forth from their quarters, marching gaily in order of battle, to the rear of the castle of Auray, where they halted, and, having chosen a situation, declared they would wait there the coming of their enemies.

Almost immediately after day-break, the lord

\* Sir Hugh Caverly. Q. if it be not sir Hugh Colville, eques-  
aureus, constituted admiral of England (Faustina, c. 14. of the  
Cotton MSS.) Sept. 11. anno 2 Ric. II. Otho. E. 9.—Bric's Cam-  
paign of Edward III.

† Sir Matthew de Gournay. See more of him in the second  
volume of Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, page 20. He died  
at the age of 96.



Charles and his army appeared. They had marched on the Friday after dinner from Vannes, and had rested that night three small leagues distant from Auray. The troops of the lord Charles were in the best and handsomest order, and drawn up in the most brilliant manner that could be seen or imagined. They marched in such close order that one could not throw a tennis ball among them, but it must have struck upon the points of some of their lances, so stiffly did they carry them. The English took great pleasure in looking at them.

The French halted in this order in front of their enemies, and took their ground on an extensive heath. Their marshals gave strict charge that no one should quit his ranks without orders, and that there should be no tilting, jousts or assaults. The men at arms, having halted, formed their line of battle, and made preparations for an immediate combat, as they expected nothing less, and were very desirous of it.

The lord Charles de Blois, by the advice of sir Bertrand du Guesclin (who was a great captain, and much praised and confided in by the Bretons) formed his army again. He divided it into three battalions and a rear-guard. It seems to me, that sir Bertrand had the command of the first; and with him were numbers of knights and squires of Brittany. The earl of Auxerre had the second, with the earl of Joigny and many knights and squires from France. The third and largest battalion was commanded by the lord Charles himself: under him were the principal lords of Brittany; among

whom were the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, d'Avaugour, Charles de Dinan, d'Ancenis, de Malestroit and several others. In the rear-guard were, the lords de Raix, de Rieux, de Tournemine, du Pont, and many good knights and squires. Each of these battalions was composed of a thousand men.

The lord Charles de Blois entreated every one in the fairest manner, that they would loyally and discreetly assist him. He swore, upon his soul, and his hopes of Paradise, that it was for a just and right cause they were going to engage. He assured each, that, if they acquitted themselves well, he should feel himself ever obliged to them.

We must now speak of the dispositions of the English and Bretons, and in what manner they drew up their army. You first must understand that, though the earl of Montfort was the commander in chief, yet it was under the sole direction of sir John Chandos: for the king of England had thus settled it with the earl of Montfort. He had also ordered sir John Chandos to have especial regard to whatever concerned the interests of his son-in-law; for the earl of Montfort had received one of the king's daughters\* in marriage.

In obedience to such orders, sir John Chandos advanced before the knights and squires of Brittany who were about the person of the earl of Montfort, and having well considered the dispositions of the French in his own mind, thought so highly of them,

---

\* The princess Mary.

he could not remain silent, but said ; ' As God is my help, it appears to me that all the flower and honor of chivalry is there, most wisely and expertly drawn up.' He then added aloud to those knights who were within hearing ; ' Gentlemen, it is time that we form our line of battle ; for the enemy have set us the example.' Those who heard him replied ; ' Sir, you say truly ; and, as you are our commander, you will form us according to your wish ; for there is none higher than yourself to look to, and you know much better than any one how to order such things.'

Sir John Chandos formed three battalions and a rear-guard. He placed over the first, sir Robert Knolles, sir Walter Huet and sir Richard Burley\*. The second battalion was under the command of sir Olivier de Clifton†, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt and sir Matthew Gournay.—The earl of Montfort had the third, which was to remain near his person. There were in each battalion five hundred men at arms, and four hundred archers. When he came to the rear-guard, he called sir Hugh Caverly to him, and said : ' Sir Hugh, you will take the command of the rear-

---

\* Sir Richard Burley,—was nephew of sir Simon Burley, knight of the Garter, who was beheaded early in Richard II.'s reign.—*Gough's Sep. Mon.* vol. i, p. 150.

† Sir Olivier de Clifton. Dom Morice, in his *Histoire de la Bretagne*, says that this Olivier de Clifton was not the nephew of Walter de Clifton, who was killed, 1341, at the siege of Chateauceau, but seems to have been the ' véritable seigneur de Clifton.'—Vol. i. p. 148.

guard of five hundred men, and keep on our wing, without moving one step, whatever may happen, unless you shall see an absolute necessity for it; such as our battalions giving way, or being by accident broken: in that case, you will hasten to succour those who are giving way, or who may be in disorder: and assure yourself, you cannot this day do a more meritorious service.'

When sir Hugh heard sir John Chandos give him these orders, he was much hurt and angry with him, and said; 'Sir John, sir John, give the command of this rear-guard to some other; for I do not wish to be troubled with it;' and then added, 'Sir knight, for what manner of reason have you thus provided for me? and why am not I as fit and proper to take my post in the front-rank as others?'

Sir John discreetly answered; 'Sir Hugh, I did not place you with the rear-guard because you were not as good a knight as any of us; for, in truth, I know that you are equally valiant with the best; but I ordered you to that post, because I know you are both bold and prudent, and that it is absolutely necessary for you or me to take that command. I therefore most earnestly entreat it of you; for, if you will do so, we shall all be the better for it; and you yourself will acquire great honor: in addition, I promise to comply with the first request you may make me.'

Notwithstanding this handsome speech of sir John Chandos, sir Hugh refused to comply, considering it as a great affront offered him, and entreated, through the love of God, with uplifted hands, that

that he would order some other to that command; for, in fact, he was anxious to enter the battle with the first.

This conduct nearly brought tears to the eyes of sir John. He again addressed him, gently saying: 'Sir Hugh, it is absolutely necessary that either you or I take this command: now, consider which can be most spared.'

Sir Hugh, having considered this last speech, was much confused, and replied; 'Certainly, sir, I know full well that you would ask nothing from me which could turn out to my dishonour; and, since it is so, I will very cheerfully undertake it.'

Sir Hugh Caverly then took the command of the battalion called the rear-guard, entered the field in the rear, on the wing of the others, and formed his line.

It was on Saturday the 8th day of October, 1364, that these battalions were drawn up facing each other, in a handsome plain, near to Auray in Brittany. I must say, it was a fine thing to see and reflect on; for there were banners and pennons flying, with the richest armour on each side: the French were so handsomely and grandly drawn up, it was great pleasure to look at them.

Whilst either party was forming or dividing its battalions, the lord of Beaumanoir, a very great and rich baron of Brittany, was going to and from each army, with propositions for peace. Very willingly would he have laboured, if he had been able to ward off the perils that were on the point of happening. He was earnest in the business: and the

English and Bretons on the side of Montfort, allowed him to pass and re-pass, to parley with sir John Chandos, and the earl of Montfort, although he had pledged his honor, as a prisoner, and therefore could not bear arms against them.

This same Saturday, he brought many proposals, in hopes to make a peace; of which, however, none succeeded: he was occupied with one party or the other until noon. He nevertheless obtained, through his good sense, a truce between the two armies for this day and the following night, until the morrow at sun-rise. Each army retreated to their quarters, and refreshed themselves with what they had.

During the time the truce lasted, the governor of the castle of Auray came out of it, on Saturday night, and went peaceably to the army of the lord Charles de Blois, who graciously received him. The name of the governor was Henry de Hauternelle, a very expert warrior, who brought with him forty lances, good companions, well armed and well mounted, who had aided him in guarding that fortress.

When the lord Charles saw the governor, he asked him, laughingly, the state of the castle. 'In God's name,' replied the squire, 'and praise be to him, we are still sufficiently provided with every thing for two or three months, should there be occasion.' 'Henry, Henry,' answered lord Charles, 'to-morrow by day-break, you shall be made free in every respect, either by a treaty of peace or by a battle.' 'My lord,' replied the squire, 'God grant us his assistance.' 'By my faith, Henry,' said

said the lord Charles, 'I have under my command two thousand men at arms, of as good stuff, and as much inclined to acquit themselves well, as there are in the kingdom of France.' 'My lord,' answered this squire, 'this is a great advantage: you should therefore praise God, and thank him most gratefully: likewise sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and the barons of France and Brittany, who have come so courteously to your assistance.'

Thus the lord Charles amused himself in conversation with sir Henry, and with one or another, and passed the night much at his ease. "

In the course of this evening, some English knights and squires earnestly begged of sir John Chandos that he would not listen to any overtures of peace between the earl of Montfort and lord Charles de Blois; for they had expended their whole fortune, and were so poor, that they hoped by means of a battle, either to lose their all or to set themselves up again. The knight assented to the request.

When Sunday morning came, each army made itself ready, and armed. Many masses were said in that of lord Charles, and the sacrament was administered to all who wished it. The same was done in the army of the earl of Montfort: and, a little before sun-rise, each person posted himself in the same battle array as on the preceding day.

Shortly after, the lord de Beaumanoir, who had prepared different proposals of peace, and who would willingly have brought them to some agreement, had he been able, returned to the charge, and came galloping towards sir John Chandos, who  
left



left his battalion and the earl of Montfort, at the time with him, as soon as he perceived his intentions, and advanced into the plain to meet him.

When the lord de Beaumanoir came up, he saluted him very humbly, and said; 'I intreat of you, sir John Chandos, in the name of God, that we may bring these two lords to some agreement; for it is a great pity that so many good persons who are here should slaughter each other in support of their opinions.

Sir John Chandos gave him a very different answer than he expected from what had passed on the preceding evening. 'Lord de Beaumanoir, I would advise you not to make any more attempts at peace to-day; for our men declare that, if they can inclose you within their ranks, they will kill you. You will say to lord Charles de Blois, that happens what may, the lord John de Montfort is determined to risk the event of a combat. Have done, therefore, with all ideas of peace or agreements; for he will this day be duke of Brittany, or die in the field.'

When the lord de Beaumanoir had received this answer from Chandos, he was mightily enraged, and replied: 'Chandos, Chandos, that is not less the intention of my lord, who has as good a will to fight as the lord John de Montfort: his army are also of the same mind.'

At these words, he set off without saying any thing more, and went to lord Charles and the barons of Brittany, who were waiting for him.

Sir



Sir John Chandos returned to the earl of Montfort, who asked, 'How goes on the treaty? What does our adversary say?' 'What does he say?' replied Chandos: 'why, he sends word by the lord de Beaumanoir, who has this instant left me, that he will fight with you at all events, and remain duke of Brittany, or die in the field.' This answer was made by sir John, in order to excite the courage of the earl of Montfort; and he continued saying, 'Now, consider what you will determine to do, whether to engage or not.' 'By St. George,' answered the earl of Montfort, 'engage I will, and God assist the right cause: order our banners to advance immediately.'

With regard to the lord de Beaumanoir, he said to lord Charles de Blois; 'My lord, my lord, by St. Ives, I have heard the proudest speech from John Chandos that my ears have listened to for a long time: he has just assured me, that the earl of Montfort shall remain duke of Brittany, and will clearly shew to you that you have not any right to it.' These words brought the colour into lord Charles's cheeks; when he answered, 'Let God settle the right, for he knows to whom it belongs;' and thus said all the barons of Brittany. He then ordered his banners and men at arms to march, in the name of God and St. Ives.

## CHAP. CCXXV.

THE BATTLE OF AURAY, IN WHICH SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN IS MADE PRISONER.—CHARLES DE BLOIS IS SLAIN; AND JOHN DE MONFORT IS VICTORIOUS.

**A** LITTLE before eight in the morning the two armies advanced near to each other. It was a very fine fight, as I have heard those relate who saw it; for the French were in such close order that one could scarcely throw an apple among them, without its falling on a helmet or lance. Each man at arms carried his spear right before him, cut down to the length of five feet; a battle-axe, sharp, strong and well steeled, with a short handle, was at his side, or hung from his neck. They advanced thus handsomely a foot's pace, each lord in array and among his people, with his banner or pennon before him, well knowing what they were to do.

On the other hand, the English were drawn up in the handsomest order.

The Bretons, under the command of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, posted themselves with his banner opposite to the battalion of sir Robert Knolles and sir Walter Huet. The Bretons of either party placed the banners of their two lords, who was each called duke, opposite to the other.

In this first onset, there were hard blows between the lancemen, and a sharp scuffle. True it is, that the English archers shot well at the commencement; but

but their arrows hurt not, as the French were too well armed and shielded from them. Upon this, they flung away their bows; and, being light and able men, they mixed with the men at arms of their party, and attacked those of the French who had battle-axes. Being men of address and courage, they immediately seized several of these axes, with which they afterwards fought valiantly and successfully.

There were many gallant feats of arms performed; many a struggle, many a capture, and many a rescue. You must know, that whoever had the misfortune to fall, found great difficulty to rise again, unless he was speedily succoured.

The battalion of lord Charles marched straight to that of lord John de Montfort, which was very strong and deep. In his company were, the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, Charles de Dinan, de Quintin, d'Ancenis, and de Rochefort, each with his banner displayed before him.

The engagement between these two battalions was very severe and desperate, and well fought on both sides. That of the earl of Montfort was at first thrown into confusion; but sir Hugh Caverly, who was upon its wing with a good battalion of gallant men, perceiving them giving way and opening their ranks, drove the enemy back, and replaced every thing by force of arms. This action was certainly of great use to them.

In another part of the plain, sir Olivier de Clifton, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Matthew Gournay, and several other valiant knights and squires, fought  
valorously

valourously with the battalion of the earls of Auxerre and Joigny, which was very numerous and deep, and crowded with several able men at arms.

Many bold actions were performed on both sides: prisoners and rescues were frequent. The French and Bretons fought in earnest with their battle-axes. The lord Charles shewed himself a marvellously good knight, eagerly seeking for and engaging his enemies. His adversary, the earl of Montfort, fought with equal gallantry: and each person spoke of them according to their deserts.

Sir John Chandos proved himself more able than his opponents; for he was at the same time bold and hardy, redoubted by his adversaries in battle, as well as wise and discreet in council, giving the clearest orders. He advised the earl in every thing, and, in order to animate him and his people, said to them, ‘Do so and so: march to this side, or to that.’ The young earl of Montfort believed all he said, and followed his advice.

In another part, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the lords du Pont, de Tournemine, d’Avaugour, de Raix, de Lohéac, de Malestroit, du Prie, and many other able knights and squires of Brittany and Normandy, who were there on the side of the lord Charles, fought very determinedly, and did many handsome deeds of arms. The battle was so warmly contested that all the battalions were engaged, except the rear-guard of the English, which sir Hugh Caverly commanded. This battalion kept always on one wing, and never engaged with any, but was solely occupied in recovering and  
 3 bringing

bringing back to their ranks those who were thrown into confusion.

Among other knights, sir Olivier de Clifson played his part handsomely, and did marvels with his battle-axe, by which he opened and cut through the ranks, so that none dared to approach him. Once, indeed, his eagerness brought him into great peril; for he advanced so forward that he had the battalion of the earls of Auxerre and Joigny upon him, and had hard work to extricate himself. He received in this affair a stroke of a battle-axe, which struck off the visor of his helmet; and its point entered his eye, which he afterwards lost. He was not however, for this, a less gallant knight during the whole of the day.

Battalions and banners rushed against each other, and sometimes were overthrown, and then up again. Among the knights, sir John Chandos shewed his ability, valorously fighting with his battle-axe: he gave such desperate blows, that all avoided him; for he was of great stature and strength, well made in all his limbs. He advanced to attack the battalion of the earl of Auxerre and the French. Many bold actions were performed; and, through the courage of himself and people, he drove this battalion before him, and threw it into such disorder that, in brief, it was discomfited. All their banners and pennons were thrown on the ground, torn and broken: their lords and captains were in the greatest danger; for they were not succoured by any, their people being fully engaged in fighting and defending themselves.

To

To speak truly, when once an army is discomfited, those who are defeated are so much frightened, that if one fall, three follow his example, and to these three ten, and to ten thirty; and also, should ten run away, they will be followed by a hundred. Thus it was at the battle of Auray.

These lords shouted again and again their cries of war, as well as their banner-bearers, which some who heard them answered; but others were too much in the rear, and from the greatness of the crowd could not advance, so that the earl of Auxerre was desperately wounded, and taken, under the pennon of sir John Chandos: he gave his pledge as a prisoner, as well as the earl of Joigny and the lord de Prie, a great banneret in Normandy.

The other battalions fought very valiantly, and the Bretons made a good appearance still. It must however, to speak loyally of this battle, be allowed, that they did not keep their line nor array (as it seemed) like the English and Bretons on the side of Montfort. The wing commanded by sir Hugh Caverly was to them, in this battle, of the greatest advantage.

When the English and Bretons of the Montfort party perceived the French to be in confusion, they were much rejoiced. Some of the French had their horses got ready, which they mounted, and began to fly as fast they could.

Sir John Chandos then advanced with a part of his company, and made for the battalion of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, where many courageous  
deeds

deeds were doing ; but it had been already broken, and several good knights and squires slain. Many a hard blow was given by the battle-axes, and many a helmet opened, so that several were wounded and killed. To say the truth, neither sir Bertrand nor his people were able to withstand the strength of their adversaries.

Sir Bertrand was made prisoner by an English squire, under the pennon of sir John Chandos. In this conflict, sir John received the pledge as prisoner, from a baron of Brittany called the lord of Raix, a wonderfully hardy knight. After this, the Bretons and their battalion being broken, were as good as defeated : the others being in disorder, took to flight, each in the best way he could to save himself, except some good knights and squires of Brittany, who would not quit their sovereign, the lord Charles de Blois, preferring death to reproach. They collected themselves together, and rallied round him, fighting valiantly. The lord Charles and his companions kept their ground a long time, by their valour in defending themselves : at last, however, it was of no avail, for they were defeated and put to the rout by numbers ; for the whole strength of the English was drawing towards them.

The banner of the lord Charles was conquered, cast to the ground, and the bearer of it slain : he himself was also killed facing his enemies, as well as a bastard of his called the lord John de Blois, with many other knights and squires of Brittany.

It appears to me, that orders had been given to the English army, that if they should gain the battle,

and the lord Charles were found or made prisoner, no ransom should be taken for him, but that they should kill him. In a similar case, the French and Bretons had given the like orders respecting the lord John de Montfort ; for in this day each party wished, by battle, to put an end to the war.

When a pursuit took place, great slaughter and many mischiefs happened; and several good men were killed or made prisoners. The whole flower of chivalry, who had that day taken the side of lord Charles de Blois, were either prisoners or slain, particularly the bannerets of Brittany. Among the dead, lay the lord Charles de Dinan, the lords de Léon, d'Ancenis, d'Avaugour, de Lohéac, de Gargolle, de Malestroit, du Pont, and many whose names I cannot remember. There were made prisoners, the viscount de Rohan, sir Guy de Léon, the lords de Rochefort, de Raix, de Rieux, de Tournemine, sir Henry de Malestroit, sir Olivier de Mauny, the lords de Riville, de Franville, de Raineval, with several from Normandy, and many good knights and squires from France, with the earls of Auxerre and Joigny. In a word the defeat and loss were immense : numbers were slain in the field, as well as in the pursuit, which continued for eight good leagues, even as far as Vannes.

A variety of accidents happened this day which had never come to my knowledge, and many a man was killed or made prisoner. Some fell into good hands, where they met with kind and civil masters.

This battle was fought near to Auray, in the year of our Lord 1364.

CHAP.



## CHAP. CCXXVI.

THE CHIEFS ATTACHED TO THE EARL OF MONTFORT RETIRE AFTER THE VICTORY AT AURAY.—THE EARL'S CONDUCT, ON SEEING CHARLES DE BLOIS DEAD.—TRUCES GRANTED FOR BURYING THE SLAIN.—IN WHAT MANNER THE KING OF ENGLAND WAS INFORMED OF THE EVENT OF THIS BATTLE OF AURAY.

**A**FTER the total defeat of lord Charles's army, when the field of battle was free, and the principal leaders, English and Bretons, were returned from the pursuit, sir John Chandos, sir Robert Knolles, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Matthew Gournay, sir John Bourfier\*, sir Walter Huet, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Richard Burley, sir Richard Tancon†, and several others drawing near to the earl of Montfort, came to a hedge, where they began to disarm themselves, knowing the day was theirs. Some of them placed their banners and pennons in this hedge, with the arms of Brittany high above all, in a bush, as a rallying post for their army.

Sir John Chandos, sir Robert Knolles, sir Hugh Calverley and others, then approached to the earl of Montfort, and said to him smiling; 'My lord, praise God, and make good cheer, for this day you have conquered the inheritance of Brittany.' He bowed to them very respectfully, and then said,

---

\* Sir John Bouchier.—BARNES.

† Sir Richard Taunton.—BARNES.

loud enough to be heard by all around him ; ‘ Sir John Chandos, it is to your valour and prudence that I am indebted for the good fortune of this day : this I know for a truth, as well as all those who are with me : I beg you will, therefore, refresh yourself out of my cup.’ He then extended to him a flagon full of wine, and his cup, out of which he himself had just drank, adding, ‘ After God, I owe more thanks to you than to all the rest of the world.’

As he finished these words, the lord de Clifton returned, out of breath and very hot. He had pursued the enemy a long way, and had just left them, bringing back his men, with a number of prisoners. He advanced directly to the earl of Montfort and the knights who were about him, leaped off his courser, and refreshed himself with them.

Whilst they were thus together, two knights and two heralds returned, who had been sent to examine the dead bodies in the field, to know what was become of the lord Charles de Blois : for they were uncertain if he had been slain or not. They cried with a loud voice, ‘ My lord, be of good cheer, for we have seen your adversary lord Charles de Blois among the dead.’ Upon this, the earl of Montfort rose up and said, he wished to see him himself, for that, ‘ he should have as much pleasure in seeing him dead as alive.’ All the knights then present accompanied him to the spot where he was lying apart from the others, covered by a shield, which he ordered to be taken away, and looked at him very sorrowfully. After having paused a while,  
be

he exclaimed ; ‘ Ha, my lord Charles, sweet cousin, how much mischief has happened to Brittany from your having supported by arms your pretensions ! God help me, I am truly unhappy at finding you in this situation, but at present this cannot be amended.’ Upon which he burst into tears.

Sir John Chandos, perceiving this, pulled him by the skirt, and said ; ‘ My lord, my lord, let us go away, and return thanks to God for the success of the day ; for without the death of this person, you never would have gained your inheritance of Brittany.’

The earl then ordered that lord Charles’s body should be carried to Guingamp\*, which was immediately done with great respect, and he was most honorably interred. This was but his due, as he was a good, loyal and valiant knight.

His body was afterward sanctified by the grace of God, and venerated as Saint Charles. Pope Urban V. who was the reigning pontiff, approved of it, by canonising it ; for it performed then, as it does to this day, many miracles†.

\* Guingamp,—a town of Brittany. diocese of Treguier.

† This is a mistake of Froissart. There was some such intention in the pope’s mind, as there are extant letters from him to John duke of Brittany on this subject ; but, when he understood the manner of his death, he was not looked upon as a martyr. He was very angry with those who had given him such honors, without the approbation of the apostolic see, and, by his letters to the bishops of Brittany, enjoined them to prohibit such things being done in future.

After these orders, when the dead was stripped, and the victors returned from the pursuit, they all retired to the quarters which they had left that morning. They disarmed themselves; and having taken some refreshment, of which they had an ample provision, they attended to their prisoners. Those that were wounded, were moved and dressed: even the servants who had suffered were well taken care of.

On the Monday morning, the earl of Montfort sent information to the city of Vannes, and to the neighbouring towns, that he should grant a truce for three days, in order that those slain in the battle might be buried in consecrated ground. This conduct was very pleasing to all.

The earl of Montfort sat down before the castle of Auray, declaring he would not depart thence until he had possession of it. News was spread abroad with great celerity, and in different places, that the earl of Montfort, by the help and assistance of the English, had gained the victory; that the lord Charles was defeated and slain; and that all the knights of Brittany, who had sided with the lord Charles, were either taken prisoners or dead.

Sir John Chandos had the whole honor of this battle; for all the knights, lords and squires who had been engaged in it declared, that it was solely owing to his prudence and prowess they had gained the day.

The friends and allies of lord Charles were much afflicted at this news, as was natural for them to be: but the king of France was the most hurt; for this

defeat affected him greatly, considering that many of the knights of his realm had been made prisoners and killed. Among the first, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, whom he much loved; the earls of Auxerre, of Joigny, and all the barons of Brittany without exception.

The king of France, therefore, sent his brother, the duke of Anjou to the borders of Brittany, to the assistance of the country, which was much distressed by the loss of their lord, Charles de Blois; and to comfort and condole with the duchess of Brittany, his widow, who was in the deepest affliction. This it was the duty of the duke to do; but he was the more earnestly engaged in this melancholy task, having married her daughter.

He therefore most willingly gave his promise of advice, assistance and succour to the large cities, towns, castles, and to all the country of Brittany in which the duchess, whom he called his mother, and the whole country, had for a long time great confidence, until the king of France, to avoid all difficulties, made other arrangements, as you shall hereafter be informed of.

News of this victory was brought to the king of England; for the earl of Montfort had written to him on the fifth day after the battle of Auray, and sent the intelligence, with credential letters, by a pursuivant at arms, who had been in the engagement, to the town of Dover. The king of England nominated him his herald, and gave him the name of Windfor, with a handsome present of money.

Through this herald, and from some knights of both parties, I have been informed of the whole. With regard to the cause why the king of England was then at Dover, you shall immediately learn.

It is a well-known fact, that proposals for a marriage between the lord Edmund earl of Cambridge, son of the king of England, and the daughter of earl Lewis of Flanders, had been treated of, and different negotiations entered upon three years before\*: to which marriage the earl of Flanders had but lately given his consent; but pope Urban V. was desirous of dispensing him from it, as they were very nearly allied.

The duke of Lancaster and the lord Edmund his brother, attended by many knights, had been to visit the earl of Flanders, who received them with every mark of distinction; and, to shew greater affection and love, he had accompanied them to Calais, and crossed the sea to Dover, where the king and part of his council had remained.

When the before-mentioned pursuivant brought to this place the news of the affair at Auray, as it has been told, the king and his barons were much rejoiced at the event; as was also the earl of Flanders, on account of the advancement of his cousin-german the earl of Montfort.

---

\* The first mention I find in Rymer is dated 7th February, 1362,—the second, 20th July 1364—the third, the articles of marriage, dated 19th October, at Dover, 1364,—the fourth, to postpone the day of marriage, Windsor, 18th December 1364.

The king of England, the earl of Flanders and the other barons, staid at Dover three days, which were spent in feasts and entertainments. When they indulged in these sufficiently, and had finished the affairs on which they had met, the earl of Flanders took his leave of the king, and departed.

It seems to me, that the duke of Lancaster and the lord Edmund crossed the channel with the earl, and attended him until he arrived at Bruges. We will not speak longer of this matter, but return to the earl of Montfort, and mention how he conducted himself in Brittany.

---

#### CHAP. CCXXVII.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT CONQUERS AURAY AND SEVERAL OTHER PLACES FROM THE WIDOW OF LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS.—KING CHARLES INTERPOSES BETWEEN THEM, AND MAKES PEACE.—A PEACE IS ALSO MADE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE CAPITAL DE BUCH.

THE earl of Montfort, as it has been before related, laid siege to Auray, and declared that he would not leave it until he had conquered it; at which those of the castle were not very well pleased. They had lost their captain, Henri de Hauternelle, who had fallen in the battle with the flower of the garrison; so that they were very few to defend it, and without hope of assistance.

They

They took counsel together, whether it would not be advisable to surrender, on having their lives and fortunes saved, and on these terms entered into a negotiation with the earl. The earl, who had many other places to look to, and was not certain how the country would act after this victory, accepted their terms, allowing those who would not remain with him to depart according to their inclinations. He then took possession of the castle, new garrisoned it, and marched forward with his whole army, which increased daily; for men at arms and archers came to him in crowds, and many knights and squires turned to his party, especially those from lower Brittany.

He came before the good town of Jugon\*, which shut its gates against him. He remained there three days, and ordered it to be assaulted twice, which occasioned many both within and without the walls to be badly wounded. Those in Jugon, seeing themselves thus hardly pressed, and no hopes of aid, did not wish to be further harassed: they acknowledged therefore the earl of Montfort for their lord, opened the gates, and swore homage and fealty to him, which they faithfully promised to keep. The earl changed all the municipal officers, appointing new ones in their stead.

He then advanced towards the city of Dinan†, and laid siege to it, which continued during the

---

\* Jugon,—a town in Brittany, diocese of St. Pol.

† Dinan,—a considerable town in Brittany, diocese of St. Malo.



winter; for that town was well furnished with men at arms and provision: besides, the duke of Anjou had exhorted them to behave themselves as good men should do (for he had assisted them): this made them hold out, and suffer many a sharp assault.

When they found their provision growing low, and that no relief was coming to them, they entered into a treaty of peace with the earl, who willingly listened to it; for he was desirous of nothing but that they should acknowledge him as their lord, which they did. He made a solemn entry into the town of Dinan, where all the inhabitants swore homage and fealty to him.

After this, the earl marched with his army to the city of Quimper Corentin\*. He laid close siege to it, and ordered large machines to be brought from Vannes and Dinan, saying, he would have it before he left it. I must now inform you, that the English and the Bretons of Montfort's party, such as sir John Chandos and others, who had made prisoners at the battle of Auray, would not accept of ransoms for them, nor allow them to go and seek for money; because they were unwilling they should again assemble in a body and offer them battle: they sent them into Poitou, Saintonge, Bourdeaux and la Rochelle, to remain there as prisoners. During this time, the English and Bretons conquered all Brittany, from one end to the other.

---

\* Quimper Corentin,—a town in Brittany, generality of Nantes.

Whilst the earl of Montfort was besieging the city of Quimper Corentin, to which he did much damage by his machines that played night and day, as well by his assaults, his men overran the country, leaving nothing unpillaged.

The king of France was duly informed of all that was going on : many councils were held to consider how he could turn these affairs of Brittany to his own interest ; for they were in a desperate situation, unless promptly remedied, and he would be forced to call upon his subjects to support him in a new war against England on account of Brittany. This his council advised him not to think of : but, after many deliberations, they said to him ; ‘ Our most dear lord, you have supported your cousin, the lord Charles de Blois, in Brittany, as did the king your father, and your grandfather Philip, who gave to him the heiress of the last duke of Brittany in marriage ; by which means much evil has befallen Brittany and the neighbouring countries. Since the lord Charles de Blois, your cousin, was slain in defending that country, there is no one now of his party in a situation to resume the war ; for at this moment those to whom it belongs, and whom it touches so nearly, are prisoners in England : we mean the lord John and lord Guy de Blois, his two sons. We hear every day of the earl of Montfort conquering towns and castles, which he possesses as his lawful inheritance : by this means you will lose your rights, as well as the homage of Brittany, which is certainly a great honor and a noble appendage to your crown. This you ought to endeavour to keep ;

for,

for, if the earl of Montfort should acknowledge for his lord the king of England, as his father did, you will not be able to recover it without great wars with England, with whom we are now at peace, and which we would advise you not to break. Every thing, therefore, fully considered, we recommend to you, our dear lord, to send ambassadors and wise negotiators to the earl of Montfort, to find out what his intentions are, and to enter upon a treaty of peace with him, as well as with the country, and the lady of it, who bears the title of duchess. You will derive from these negotiators positive information as to what are his intentions. At the worst, it will be much better he should remain duke of Brittany (provided that he will acknowledge you for his lord, and pay you all your rights, as a loyal man should do) than that this business should continue longer in peril.'

The king of France willingly assented to this proposal. The lord John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, the lord de Craon his cousin, and the lord de Boucicaut, were ordered to set out for Quimper Corentin, to treat with the earl of Montfort and his council, as it has been above related. These three lords departed, after having received full instructions how they were to act, and rode on until they came to the siege which the English and Bretons were laying to Quimper Corentin, where they announced themselves as ambassadors from France.

The earl of Montfort, sir John Chandos and the members of the council, received them with pleasure.

ture. These lords explained the cause of their coming. To this first opening, the earl of Montfort replied, ' We will consider of it,' and fixed a day for his answer: during this interval, these three lords retired to Rennes, where they resided.

The earl of Montfort dispatched lord Latimer\* to the king of England, to inform him of the proposals for a peace he had received, and to have his advice on the subject. The king of England, having considered them, advised the earl to make a peace, on condition the duchy should be his; and also to make handsome reparation to the lady who was called duchess, by assigning her a fixed annuity, or rent-charge, on certain lands where she might collect it without danger.

Lord Latimer brought back the opinion of the king of England to the earl of Montfort, who was still before Quimper Corentin. Upon the arrival of these letters, the earl and his council sent to the ambassadors from France, who had remained at Rennes: they came immediately to the army, and had a very courteous and civil answer given to them. They were told that the earl of Montfort would never give up his claims to the duchy of Brittany, happen what might, but would keep and maintain the title and rights of duke of Brittany, which he was now possessed of: that, nevertheless, wherever the king of France should cause any cities, towns or castles to surrender peaceably upon the

---

\* Lord Latimer. See Dugdale's Baronage.

same terms of homage, fealty, and rights, as they were held from the preceding duke of Brittany, he would willingly acknowledge him for his liege lord, and would do him homage and service in the presence of the peers of France. Moreover on account of the affinity between him and his cousin the widow of the lord Charles de Blois, he was willing to do every thing to assist her; and would also use his endeavours to obtain the liberty of his cousins, the lords John and Guy de Blois, who were detained prisoners in England.

This answer was very agreeable to the French lords who had been sent thither: a day was appointed for them to declare their acceptance of these terms or not: they instantly sent information of what had passed to the duke of Anjou, who had retired to Angers, to whom the king had referred the acceptance of the terms, according to his pleasure.

When the duke of Anjou had considered the proposals for some time, he gave his assent. The two knights who had been sent to him returned with his answer sealed.

The ambassadors of France again left Rennes, and went to Quimper-Corentin, when a peace with the lord of Montfort was finally agreed to and sealed.

He was to remain duke of Brittany; but, in case he should have no legal heirs by marriage, the duchy should revert, after his decease, to the children of lord Charles de Blois. The lady who had been the wife of lord Charles was created countess  
of

of Penthievre, with the lands attached to it ; which lands were supposed worth about twenty thousand francs a-year, or if not, that sum was to be made up to her. The earl of Montfort engaged to go to France, whenever he should be summoned, to do homage to the king of France and acknowledge that he held the duchy of him. Charters and publicly sealed instruments were drawn up of all these articles. Thus had the earl of Montfort possession of Brittany : he remained duke of it for a time, until new wars began, as you shall hear in the following history.

Among these articles, it was stipulated, that the lord de Clifton should re-possess those lands which king Philip had formerly taken from his family. This lord de Clifton gained the confidence of the king of France, who did whatever he wished, and without him nothing was done.

The whole country of Brittany was full of joy upon the conclusion of a peace. The duke received homages from cities, towns, castles, prelates and gentlemen.

Soon afterwards, the duke married\* the daughter of her royal highness the princess of Wales, which she had borne to her former husband, the lord Thomas Holland. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, in the good city of Nantes.

It also happened this winter, that queen Jane,

---

\* Johanna of Holland, daughter of Thomas earl of Kent,—married 1366—died, without issue, 1386.—ANDERSON.

aunt to the king of Navarre, and queen Blanche, his sister, laboured so earnestly for peace that it was concluded between the kings of France and Navarre, assisted much by the advice and prudence of the capital de Buch, who took great pains in the business. He also obtained his liberty by it. The king of France showed him great marks of esteem, and, as a proof of it, gave him the handsome castle of Nemours, with all its rights, appurtenances and jurisdictions, which were worth three thousand francs of revenue. The capital became, by this means, liege man to the king of France. The king was well pleased at receiving him a homager; for he loved much the service of a knight such as the capital; but he was not so long, for, when he was returned into the principality to the prince, who had been informed of what had passed, he was much blamed, and told that he could not acquit himself loyally in his service to two lords: that he was over covetous, when he accepted of lands in France, where he was neither honored nor beloved.

When he found himself in this situation, and so treated and taunted by the prince of Wales, his own natural lord, he was quite ashamed of himself, and made excuses, saying, 'that he was not by any means too much connected with the king of France, and that he could very easily undo all that had been done.' He sent, therefore, by his own squire, his homage back to the king of France, renounced all that had been given him, and remained attached to the prince.

Among the articles of the treaty between the kings of France and Navarre, the towns of Mante and Meulan were to be given the king of France, who restored to the king of Navarre other castles in Normandy.

About this time, the lord Louis de Navarre set out from France, and passed through Lombardy, to espouse the queen of Naples\*. At his departure, he borrowed of the king of France sixty thousand francs, upon the security of some castles which belonged to him in Normandy. He survived his marriage with that queen but a short time. May God forgive him his faults! for he was a good and courteous knight.

---

CHAP. CCXXVIII.

A WAR IN SPAIN BETWEEN THE KING, DON PEDRO OF CASTILE, AND HIS BASTARD BROTHER HENRY—TO WHOSE AID THE LORD JOHN DE BOURBON AND SIR BERTRAND DUGUESCLIN LEAD THE PILLAGING COMPANIES.—HENRY, BY THEIR MEANS, IS CROWNED KING OF CASTILE.

AT this period†, those companies of freebooters were so much increased in France that the government did not know what to do with them,

---

\* The queen of Naples. This must have been the too celebrated Jane, but I cannot find the marriage mentioned in any other book.

† This period,—1365.



since the wars in Brittany and those with the king of Navarre were now put an end to. These companies having been brought up to arms, and taught to live on pillage and plunder alone, neither could nor would abstain from it. Their great resource was France; and these companions called the kingdom of France their domain. They dared not, however, make any attempts on Aquitaine, for the country would not have suffered it; besides, to say truth, the greater number of their captains were Gascons and English, or persons attached to the king of England or prince of Wales.

Some lords of Brittany were among them, but they were few in number. On this account, many of the inhabitants of France murmured much, and complained secretly of the king of England and the prince, that they did not act well towards the king of France in not assisting him to drive these bad people out of the realm. They were better pleased to see them with their neighbours than among themselves. The wisest of the kingdom declared, that if something were not speedily done in this business, either by fighting or getting rid of them out of the country, by a handsome present in money, they would destroy the noble kingdom of France.

There was at the time a king in Hungary who was desirous of having their assistance, and would have given them full employment against the Turks, with whom he was at war, for they had done him much mischief. He wrote, therefore, to pope Urban V. (who was then at Avignon, and

who would gladly have seen France delivered from these companies,) and also to the king of France and to the prince of Wales.

He wished to enter into a treaty with their leaders, and offered large sums of money to them and a free passage; but they would not listen to it, saying, that they would not go so far to make war. It was told them by their oldest captains, who were well acquainted with the country of Hungary, that there were such narrow passes, if they should in any combat be engaged in them, they would never be able to get out, but must infallibly be cut off. This report frightened them so much, that they had not any desire to go thither.

When pope Urban and the king of France found these wicked people were not likely to come into their plan, and would not quit the kingdom, but, on the contrary, multiplied daily, they thought upon another method to free the country from them.

There was in these times a king of Castille, of the name of Don Pedro\*, whose mind, full of strange opinions, was very rebellious and refractory to all the regulations and commands of the church: he wanted to subdue his Christian neighbours, more especially the king of Arragon, of the name of Peter†, who was a good Catholic: he had even taken from him part of his possessions, and was preparing to seize the remainder.

---

\* Don Pedro—the fourth, surnamed the Cruel.

† Peter—the fourth, surnamed the Ceremonious.

This king, don Pedro of Castille, had three bastard brothers, children of the good Alphonso his father and a lady called la Riche Done\*. The eldest was named don Henry; the second, don Tello; the third, don Sancho†.

Don Pedro hated them mortally; and, could he have laid hands on them, he would have had them beheaded. They had been, however, much loved by their father, who in his lifetime had given to Henry, the eldest, the county of Trastamare; but the king, don Pedro his brother, had taken it from him by force, and every day was harassing him.

This bastard Henry was a very valiant and worthy knight: he had been a long time in France, where he followed the profession of arms, and had served under the king of France‡, whom he loved much.

The king don Pedro, as common report told the story, had by different means caused the death of their mother, which, as was natural, gave them great displeasure. He had banished and murdered many of the greatest barons of the realm of Castille. He was withal so cruel, and of such a horrid disposition, that all men feared, suspected and hated him, but dared not shew it. He had also caused the death of a very good and virtuous lady, whom he

---

\* La Richa Donna,—Eleanora de Guzman.

† Sancho. In l'Art de verifier les Dates, the second son is called Frederick, and the third D. Tello. Frederick was murdered by Don Pedro, 1358.

‡ King of France,—John. Don Henry was at the battle of Poitiers.

had married, the lady Blanche, daughter of duke Peter de Bourbon, and cousin german to the queen of France and to the countess of Savoy. All her relations, who are of the noblest blood in the world, were most exceedingly irritated by the manner of her death\*.

There was also a report current among the people, that king Peter had even formed an alliance with the kings of Benamarinet†, Granada and Tremecen‡, who were enemies to God, and infidels. Many were uneasy at wrongs he might do to his country, and lest he should violate the churches; for he had seized their revenues, and detained the priests of holy church in prison, where he vexed them with all sorts of tyranny.

Great complaints of these proceedings were sent daily to the pope, entreating him to put a stop to them. Pope Urban received and attended to these complaints. He sent ambassadors to the king, don Pedro, ordering and enjoining him to come forthwith in person to the court of Rome, to purge and

---

\* She was poisoned, by Don Pedro's orders, in the castle of Medina Sidonia, where he had confined her. CHOISY, Hist. Charles V.—Others say, smothered between two cushions.

† Benamarine. Aben Jacob, king of Fez, sent his son Abomelique to take possession of lands given him by the king of Granada, as a barrier against Alphonso XI. He landed with his fleet at Algeziras 1381, with a number of Benamarine Moors, and formed a new kingdom in Spain, styling himself king of Algeziras and Ronda.—*Dillon's Hist. Peter the Cruel*, vol. i. p. 14.

‡ Tremecen. By Moreri, this appears to have been a town in Africa, dependant on the kingdom of Talemfin.

clear himself from all the villainous actions he was charged with.

Don Pedro, proud and presumptuous as he was, not only refused to obey the mandate, but even received with insults the ambassadors from the holy father, for which he fell grievously under his indignation. This wicked king still persevered in his sin. It was then considered how or by what means he could be corrected; and it was determined that he was no longer worthy to bear the title of king, nor to possess a kingdom. He was therefore publicly excommunicated, in full consistory, held in the apartments of the pope, at Avignon, and declared to be an heretick and infidel. They thought they should be able to punish him, by means of the free companies who were in France.

They requested the king of Arragon, who hated very much this don Pedro, and Henry the bastard of Spain, to come immediately to Avignon. The holy father then legitimated the birth of Henry the bastard, so that he might be in a condition to obtain the kingdom from don Pedro, who had been cursed and condemned by the sentence of the pope.

The king of Arragon offered a free passage through his kingdom, with a supply of men at arms, and all sorts of provision and aid, to whoever should enter Castille, and attack don Pedro to deprive him of his throne.

The king of France was much pleased with this intelligence, and took great pains that sir Bertrand du Guesclin, whom sir John Chandos held as his prisoner, should be ransomed. This was fixed at

one hundred thousand francs\*. The king of France paid one part, the pope and Henry the bastard the other.

Soon after his liberty was obtained, they entered into a treaty with the chiefs of those companies, promising them great advantages if they would go into Castille. They readily assented to the proposal by means of a large sum of money, which was divided among them,

\* The abbé Choisy says, it was 30,000 francs.

In a note to the *Memoires du Guesclin*, it is said, that 'it cost du Guesclin 100,000 francs for his ransom. As he had no ready money, the lords de Matignon, de Montboucher and de Laval were his security to the general, Chandos. Charles V. paid of it 40,000 francs, the pope and Henry Traстамare, afterwards king of Castille, made up the remainder. *Memoires Historiques*.

In a most curious history, called *Les Faiz de Messire Bertrand du Guesclin*, which I consider as the editio princeps (from the stile and manner of printing) in the Harford Library, no mention whatever is made of a ransom.

'*Les Faiz du Messire Bertrand du Guesclin*, in fol. figures, ancienne edition gothique.

'Je n'ai vu ce livre nulle parte ailleurs que dans le catalogue du maréchal d'Étrées, num. 15052. On seroit porté à croire c'est le même que le manuscrit de Ménard, qu'il a publié comme inconnu jusqu' alors, ainsi qu'il dit dans son avis au lecteur.'

In the *Memoires de Bertrand*, by M. Guyard de Berville, 2 vols. 12mo. it is said that Charles V. paid part of the 100,000 francs of the ransom, and that Bertrand found the rest himself.

Extract from the Bibliothèque Historique de  
France, du pere le Long.

The

The prince of Wales was informed of this intended expedition, as well as his knights and squires, but particularly sir John Chandos, who was solicited to be one of the leaders of it, in conjunction with sir Bertrand du Guesclin. He excused himself, and said he could not go. This, however, did not put a stop to it: many knights who were attached to the prince, among whom were sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Caverly, sir Walter Huet, sir Matthew Gournay, sir Perducas d'Albret, and several others were of the party.

The lord John de Bourbon, earl of Marche, took the chief command, in order to revenge the death of his cousin the queen of Spain: but he was under the advice and controul of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, as he was at that time a very young knight.

In this expedition were also the lord of Beaujeu, whose name was Anthony, and many worthy knights: such as lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, the lords Begue de Villaines, d'Antoin in Hainault, de Brifnel, John de Neufville\*, Guimars de Bailheul, John de Bergutes, the German lord de St. Venant, and others whom I cannot name. All these men at arms assembled together, in order to begin their march at Montpellier in Languedoc.

These men at arms might be about three thousand†. They all passed through Narbonne, in

---

\* Neufville. Sir John Neville.

† My MSS. say, 30,000 men; and the abbé Choisy says, they were 30,000 men, well armed.—Hist. Charles V.

their



their march to Perpignan, in order to enter Arragon by that town\*. All the leaders of these companies were there : the lords Robert Briquet, John Carfneille, Nandon de Bagerant, La Nuit, le petit Mefchin, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Esparre, Battiller, Espiote, Aymemon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, and numbers more ; all of one mind and accord, to dethrone don Pedro from his kingdom of Castille, and to place there in his room the bastard Henry, earl of Traistamare.

Don Pedro had received information that this army was marching against him : he collected his troops, in order to meet them, and fight boldly on their entering Castille.

When they were about to enter Arragon, they sent to him, in order to cover and mask their real intentions, to ask a free passage through his country, and that provision might be supplied to some pilgrims of God, who had undertaken, through devotion, an expedition into the kingdom of Granada, to revenge the sufferings of their Lord and Saviour, to destroy the infidels, and to exalt the Cross.

Don Pedro laughed at this request, and sent for answer, that he would never attend to such beggarly crew. When the men at arms and companions heard this reply, they thought him very proud and presumptuous, and made every haste to do him as much mischief as they could.

---

\* Choisy says, that one part embarked at Aigues Mortes for Barcelona, and that the rest went by land.

They



They marched through the kingdom of Arragon, where every accommodation was prepared for them, and they found all sorts of provision plenty and cheap; for the king of Arragon was very joyful on their arrival, because this army would soon re-conquer from the king of Castille the whole country which he had taken from him, and kept by force.

Whenever they won any towns, castles, cities or fortresses, which don Pedro had seized from Arragon, sir Bertrand and his army gave them back to the king of Arragon, who declared, that from that day forward, he would assist Henry the bastard against don Pedro. All the men at arms passed the great river\* which divides Castille from Arragon, and entered Spain.

News was brought to the king of Castille, that French, English, Bretons, Normans, Picards and Burgundians had crossed the Ebro, and entered his kingdom: that they had reconquered every place on the other side of the river that separates Castille from Arragon, which had cost him so much trouble to gain.

Upon hearing this, he was in a great rage, and said things should not go on thus. He issued a special ordinance throughout his kingdom, ordering all those to whom it was addressed to meet him without delay, as he was determined to combat these men at arms, who had entered the kingdom of Castille.

---

\* The Ebro,—probably at Alfaro or Calahorra.

Too few obeyed his mandate; for, when he thought to have assembled a large force, scarcely any came to the rendezvous. All the barons and knights of Spain fell off from him, in favor of his brother the bastard. This event forced him to fly, or he would have been taken; and so much was he hated by his subjects and enemies, that not one remained with him, save one loyal knight called Ferdinand de Castro\*. He was determined never to quit don Pedro, whatever ill-fortune might happen to him. The king of Castille went to Seville, the handsomest city in Spain; but, not thinking himself in security there, he ordered all his treasures and other things to be packed up in large coffers, which he embarked on board of ships, leaving Seville with his wife, his children, and Ferdinand de Castro. Don Pedro arrived that same evening† (like a knight that

---

\* Ferdinand de Castro. In the history of Spain by Ferraras, don Pedro publicly marries the daughter of a don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, widow of don Diego de Haro, during the life of his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, and of Maria di Padilla, in the year 1354; whether the daughter of this knight who accompanied him in his flight, I know not.

† Don Pedro retired first to Portugal, where he offered his daughter Beatrice to the infant of Portugal, in marriage, with a large portion of money he had brought with him. This proposal was rejected for fear of embroiling the two kingdoms. He retreated to different castles, the governors of which refused to admit him, and stopped at the castle of Montéry in Galicia: from thence he went to San Jago, and murdered the archbishop, and thence to Corunna, where, finding twenty-two vessels, he embarked for Bayonne. Don Ferdinand de Castro did not accompany him, but remained to support his interest in Biscay.

that had been beaten and discomfited) at a town called Corunna, in Galicia, where there was a very strong castle. He immediately flung himself into it, with his wife and children; that is to say, two young damsels, called Constance\* and Isabella†. None of his courtiers followed him, nor had he any of his council with him except the above mentioned Ferdinand de Castro.

We will now return to his brother, Henry the bastard, and relate how he persevered in his designs. I have before said, that don Pedro was much hated by all his subjects, for the great and numberless acts of injustice he had committed, and for the various murders by which he had cut off many of the nobility, some of them even by his own hands; so that, as soon as they knew his brother the bastard had entered Castille with a powerful army, they all joined him, acknowledged him for their lord; and, having increased his army, caused all the cities,

He could not at that time have any wife; for he had murdered Blanche de Bourbon, and Maria di Padilla died before this. He indeed owned his marriage with Maria very solemnly, but was not believed.

Don Pedro had entered into an alliance with the king of England and prince of Wales, as early as 1363, for fear of the vengeance of France for the murder of queen Blanche.

For more particulars, see Ferraras' Hist. of Spain, Dillon, &c.

\* Constance married John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who claimed the kingdom of Castille after don Pedro's death.

† Isabella,—first wife of Edmund duke of York, married 1372,—much lamented for her youthful wantonness, died 1392,—*Anderson's R. Gen.*

towns

towns and castles to open their gates to him, and the inhabitants to do him homage. The Spaniards shouted with one voice, 'Long live king Henry! down with don Pedro, who has treated us so cruelly and wickedly.'

Thus they conducted Henry throughout the kingdom of Castille; that is to say, the lord Gómez, Garilz\*, the grand master of the order of Calatrava†, and the master of the order of St. James†, making all the people obey him. They crowned him the king in the city of Burgos, where all the prelates, earls, barons, and knights paid him their homage, and swore they would serve and obey him as their king for evermore, and if there should be occasion, would sacrifice their lives for him. King Henry then passed from city to city, all the inhabitants of which treated him as their king.

Henry made large presents and gifts to the foreign knights who had put him in possession of the kingdom of Castille. They were so magnificent, that he was considered as a most generous and bountiful

\* † Gomez Garilz. Dehys Sauvage cannot make out who this is; nor is the account correct, according to other historians.—Many of the king's friends remained steady to him, as did the bulk of his army. Don Garcia Alvarez de Toledo, master of the knights of St. James, who commanded at Logrono; Garcia de Padilla, governor of Agreda; Fernando de Toledo, brother to the master of St. James; and Boccanegra, admiral of Castille, were among the number.—DILLON.

† Master of Calatrava. Martin Lopez de Cordova, master of Calatrava, followed don Pedro's fortunes, and went with him from Seville to Portugal.—DILLON.

lord: the Normans, French and Bretons, who had been partakers of his bounty, said he was deserving of a large fortune, and that he ought to reign with great prosperity. Thus the bastard of Spain found himself master of Castille. He created his two brothers, don Tello and don Frederick, earls, and gave them large estates, with other revenues. He continued king of Castille, Galicia, Seville, Toledo and Leon, until the forces of the Prince of Wales deprived him of them, re-placing the king, don Pedro, in the possession of these realms, as you will find related in the following history.

When king Henry saw himself thus situated, and the business completed, so that all obeyed him, both nobles and serfs, as their king and lord; that there was not any appearance of opposition to his crown; he imagined it would add lustre to his name; if he made an irruption into the kingdom of Granada with those free companies that had come from France, as a means of giving them employment. He mentioned it therefore to several of the knights who were about him, when they consented to it. He retained constantly near his person those knights who were attached to the Prince of Wales; namely, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Calverley and others, shewing them the most marked attentions and kindness, in expectation of being aided by them in his intended expedition to Granada, which he was desirous of undertaking.

Soon after his coronation, the greater number of French knights took their leave, and departed. On their going away, he made them very rich presents,

The earl de la Marche, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the lord de Beaujeu and many more returned to their own country. However, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Olivier de Mauny and the Bretons, as well as the free companies, remained in Castille until other news arrived. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was made constable of Castille by Henry, with the assent of all the barons of the realm. We will now return to don Pedro.

---

CHAP. CCXXIX.

KING DON PEDRO SENDS TO ENTREAT THE PRINCE OF WALES' ASSISTANCE AGAINST HIS BROTHER, HENRY THE BASTARD.—HE RETIRES INTO GUIENNE, WHERE HE IS WELL RECEIVED BY THE PRINCE.

**Y**OU have heard how don Pedro had cast himself into the castle of Corunna near the sea, with only his wife, his two daughters and don Fernando de Castro; whilst in the mean time, his brother, the bastard, through the assistance of the men at arms whom he had drawn from France, was conquering Castille, to whom the whole country had surrendered.

All this much alarmed him; and he did not think himself in perfect safety in the castle of Corunna; for he had a great dread of his brother the bastard, and well knew that, if he were informed where he was, he would come and seek him with his forces, to besiege him in the castle. He would not wait  
this

this danger, but embarked on board a vessel, with his wife, his daughters, don Fernando de Castro, and whatever he had amassed of money and jewels, and put to sea in the night. The wind, however, was so contrary, that they could not clear the coast, but were obliged to return, and again to enter the castle of Corunna.

Don Pedro then demanded from his knight, don Fernando de Castro, complaining of his evil fortune, which was so much against him, what was best to be done. ‘My lord,’ replied the knight, ‘before you leave this place, I think it would be proper that you send some person to your cousin the prince of Wales, to know if he will receive you, and to entreat of him, for God’s sake, that he would attend to your distress. He is in a manner bound to it, from the strong connection that has subsisted between the king his father, and yours in former times. The prince of Wales is of such a noble and gallant disposition that, when he shall be informed of your misfortunes, he will certainly take compassion on you: and, if he should determine to replace you on your throne, there is no one, sir, that could oppose him, so much is he redoubted by all the world, and beloved by soldiers. You are now safe where you are; for this fortress will hold you out until some intelligence shall be brought you from Aquitaine.’

Don Pedro immediately assented to this: a letter, in a most lamentable and piteous strain, was written; and a knight, with two squires, having been instructed to undertake this employ, cheerfully accepted it, directly put to sea, and made sail for

Bayonne, a city dependant on the king of England, where they safely arrived. They made enquiries after the prince, and learnt that at that time he was at Bourdeaux. Upon this, they rode to Bourdeaux, and took up their quarters at an inn. Soon afterwards they made for the monastery of St. Andrew, where the prince resided.

The knight and squires who had come from Spain informed the knights of the prince, that they were Spaniards, and ambassadors from don Pedro of Castille. The prince, when informed of it, wished to see them, and to know what business had brought them. They were, upon this, introduced, and after having cast themselves on their knees, saluted him according to their custom, recommending the king their lord to him, as they presented him his letter. The prince made them rise: having taken the letter, he opened it, and afterwards read it more at his leisure. He found that don Pedro had written a most melancholy account of himself, informing him of his hardships and distress, and in what manner his brother the bastard, by means of the great alliances he had made, first with the pope, then with the kings of France and Arragon, and the free companies, had driven him out of his inheritance, the kingdom of Castille. In that letter, he entreated the prince, for the love of God, and for pity's sake, that he would attend to his situation, and find some remedy to it; for it was not a Christian-like act, that a bastard, through force, should disinherit a legitimate son, and seize his possessions.

The



The prince, who was a valiant and wise knight, having folded up the letter in his hands, said to the ambassadors, who had remained in his presence, 'You are welcome to us from our cousin the king of Castille: you will stay here in our court, and will not return without an answer.'

The knights of the prince were already prepared; for they well knew what was proper to be done, and took with them the Spanish knight and his two squires to entertain them handsomely.

The prince had remained in his apartment, thinking much on the contents of the letter from the king of Castille. He immediately sent for sir John Chandos and sir William Felton, the chiefs of his council: one was high steward of Aquitaine, and the other constable.

When they were come, he said smiling; 'My lords, here is great news from Spain. The king, don Pedro our cousin, complains grievously of Henry his bastard brother, who has seized his kingdom, and driven him out of it, as perhaps you may have heard related by those who are come hither. He entreats of us help and assistance, as his letter will more fully explain to you.' The prince then again read it over, word for word, to the knights, who lent a willing ear. When he had read it, he said; 'You, sir John, and you, sir William, who are my principal counsellors, and in whom I have the greatest confidence and trust: tell me, I beg of you, what will be the most advisable for us to do in this business.' The two knights looked at each

other, but uttered not a word. The prince again appealed to them, and said, 'Speak boldly, what ever be your opinion.'

The prince was then advised by these two knights, as I have heard it told afterwards, to send a body of men at arms to king don Pedro, as far as Corunna, where he was, and whence he had dated his letter; to conduct him to Bourdeaux, in order more fully to learn what were his wants and intentions: that then they should be better informed from his conversation how they were to act.

This answer pleased the prince. Sir William Felton was ordered to take the command of the expedition; and the prince asked sir Richard Pontchardon, sir Nèle Loring, sir Simon Burley\* and sir William Trouffeaux to accompany it into Galicia, to escort from Corunna the king, don Pedro, and the remnant of his army. The armament for this expedition was to consist of twelve vessels, which were to be filled with archers and men at arms.

The above-named knights made proper purveyances for the occasion, and set out from Bourdeaux, accompanied by the ambassadors from don Pedro. They continued their journey to Bayonne, where they remained three or four days, waiting for a favorable wind, and to load the ships. On the fifth day, as they were on the point of sailing, don Pedro,

---

\* Sir Simon Burley,—knight of the Garter, &c.—beheaded in the reign of Richard II.

king of Castille, arrived there. He had left Corunna in great suspense, being afraid to stay there longer, and had brought with him a few of his people, and as much of his treasure as he could carry away.

This was great news for the English. Sir William Felton and the other knights waited on him, on his landing, and received him handsomely. They informed him, that they had prepared themselves, and were on the point of sailing to Corunna, or farther, had it been necessary, to seek for him, by orders from the prince their lord. Don Pedro heard this with great joy, and returned his warmest thanks to the prince, as well as to the knights then present.

Sir William Felton immediately sent the prince information of the arrival of the king of Castille at Bayonne, who was much pleased thereat. These knights did not make any long stay at Bayonne, but, taking the king with them, made for the city of Bourdeaux, where they safely arrived.

The prince, who was anxious to see his cousin the king, don Pedro, and also to do him the more honor, rode out of Bourdeaux, attended by his knights and squires, to meet him. When they met he saluted him very respectfully, and paid him every attention by speech and action; for he knew perfectly well how so to do: no prince of his time understood so well the practice of good breeding.

After their meeting, when they had refreshed themselves as was becoming them to do, they rode towards Bourdeaux. The prince placed don Pedro on his right hand, and would not suffer it to be

otherwise. During their return, don Pedro told the prince his distresses, and in what manner his brother the bastard had driven him out of the kingdom of Castille. He complained bitterly of the disloyalty of his subjects; for all had deserted him except one knight, don Fernando de Castro, then with him, and whom he pointed out to the prince.

The prince comforted him by a most courteous and discreet answer: he begged of him not to be too much cast down; for, if he had lost every thing, it was fully in the power of God to give him back what he had lost, and more, as well as vengeance upon his enemies.

Conversing on this subject, as well as on other topics, they rode on to Bourdeaux, and dismounted at the monastery of St. Andrew, the residence of the prince and princess. The king, don Pedro, was conducted to an apartment which had been prepared for him.

When he had dressed himself suitably to his rank, he waited on the princess and the ladies, who all received him very politely. I could enlarge much on the feasts and entertainments which were made; but I will briefly pass them over, and relate to you how don Pedro conducted himself towards his cousin the prince of Wales, whom he found courteous and affable, and willing to attend to his request of aid, notwithstanding some of his council had given him the advice I will now mention.

Before the arrival of don Pedro at Bourdeaux, some lords, as well English as Gascons, who had  
much

much wisdom and forethought, were of the prince's council, and who, by inclination as well as duty, thought themselves bound to give him loyal advice, spoke to the prince in words like the following :

‘ My lord, you have often heard the old proverb of ‘ All covet, all lose.’ True it is, that you are one of the princes of this world, the most enlightened, esteemed and honored, in possession of large domains and a handsome principality on this side of the sea, and are, thank God, at peace with every one. It is also well known, that no king, far or near, at this present moment dares anger you ; such reputation have you in chivalry for valour and good fortune. You ought, therefore, in reason, to be contented with what you have got, and not seek for enemies. We must add, likewise, that this don Pedro, king of Castille, who at present is driven out of his realm, is a man of great pride, very cruel, and full of bad dispositions. The kingdom of Castille has suffered many grievances at his hands : many vallant men have been beheaded and murdered, without justice or reason ; so that to these wicked actions, which he ordered or consented to, he owes the loss of his kingdom. In addition to this, he is an enemy to the church, and excommunicated by our holy father. He has been long considered as a tyrant, who, without any plea of justice, has always made war upon his neighbours ; such as the kings of Arragon and Navarre, whom he was desirous to dethrone by force. It is also commonly reported,

Q 4

and

and believed in his kingdom, and even by his own attendants, that he murdered the young lady, his wife, who was a cousin of yours, being daughter to the duke of Bourbon.

‘ Upon all these accounts, it behoves you to pause and reflect before you enter into any engagements; for what he has hitherto suffered are the chastisements of God, who orders these punishments as an example to the kings and princes of the earth, that they should never commit such like wickedness.’

With similar language to this was the prince also addressed by his councils, on the arrival of the king of Castille at Bourdeaux: but to this loyal advice they received the following answer:

‘ My lords, I take it for granted and believe that you give me the best advice you are able. I must, however, inform you, that I am perfectly well acquainted with the life and conduct of don Pedro, and well know that he has committed faults without number, for which at present he suffers: but I will tell you the reasons which at this moment urge and embolden me to give him assistance. I do not think it either decent or proper that a bastard should possess a kingdom as an inheritance, nor drive out of his realm his own brother, heir to the country by lawful marriage; and no king, or king’s son, ought ever to suffer it, as being of the greatest prejudice to royalty. Add to this, that my lord and father and this don Pedro have for a long time been allies, much connected  
to-

together, by which we are bounden to aid and assist him, in case he should require it.'

These were the reasons that instigated the prince to assist the king of Castille in his great distress, and thus he replied to his council. No one could afterwards make the smallest change in his determination, but every day it grew firmer.

When don Pedro arrived at Bourdeaux, he humbled himself to the prince, offering him many rich presents, and the promise of further advantage; for he said, he would make his eldest son, Edward, king of Galicia, and would divide among him and his people the great riches he had left in Castille, where it was so well secured and hidden that no one could find its situation except himself. The knights paid a willing attention to these words; for both English and Gascons, by nature, are of a covetous disposition,

The prince was advised to summon all the barons of Aquitaine to an especial council at Bourdeaux, so that there might be a grand conference held; when the king don Pedro might lay before him his situation, and his means of satisfying them, should the prince undertake to conduct him back to his own country, and to do all in his power to replace him upon his throne.

Letters and messengers were therefore sent to all parts, and the lords summoned: first, the earl of Armagnac, the earl of Comminges, the lord d'Albret, the earl of Carmaing, the capital de Buch, the lord de Tande, the viscount de Châtillon, the lords  
de

de l'Escut, de Roſem, de l'Eſparre, de Chaumont, de Mucident, de Courton, de Pincornet, and other barons of Gaſcony and Guienne. The earl of Foix was requeſted to attend; but he would not come, and excuſed himſelf, having at the time a diſorder in one of his legs, which prevented him from mounting on horſeback: he ſent, however, his council in his ſtead.

---



---

CHAP. CCXXX.

THE PRINCE OF WALES HOLDS A GRAND CONFERENCE AT BOURDEAUX ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE KING OF CASTILLE.—HE RECEIVES LETTERS FROM THE KING OF ENGLAND, TO ASSENT TO THE PROPOSALS OF ASSISTING DON PEDRO.—HE MAKES OVERTURES TO THE KING OF NAVARRE, FOR A FREE PASSAGE THROUGH HIS KINGDOM, TO ENABLE HIM TO CONDUCT DON PEDRO BACK TO CASTILLE.

**T**O this conference, which was holden at Bourdeaux, there came all the counts, viſcounts, barons, and men of abilities, in Saintonge, Poitou, Quercy, Limouſin, Gaſcony, and Aquitaine.

When they were all aſſembled, they formed a parliament; and, having entered upon the buſineſs of their meeting, they for three days diſcuſſed the ſituation and future proſpect of this don Pedro, king of Caſtille, who was all the time preſent, placing himſelf near his couſin the prince, who ſpoke



spoke in his behalf, and gave the best account he was able of his affairs.

It was at last resolved, that the prince should send sufficient ambassadors to the king his father in England, to know his opinion on the subject; and that, as soon as they should have the king's answer, they would then assemble, and give the prince such good advice as reasonably ought to be satisfactory to him.

The prince immediately named four knights; the lord Delawar, sir Nèle Loring, sir John and sir Hely de Pommiers; and ordered them to set out for England.

This conference then broke up, and each returned to his home. The king, don Pedro, remained at Bourdeaux with the prince and princess, who entertained him handsomely, and with due honor.

These four knights began their journey, according to their orders, for England; and, having embarked on board two ships, they arrived safely at Southampton, through God's good will and favorable winds. They remained there one day, to refresh themselves and to disembark their horses and equipage. On the second day, they mounted their horses, and rode on to the city of London, where they inquired after the king, and where he was. They were told, he was at Windsor. They set out for that place, and were very well received by the king and queen, as much through love for the prince their son, as because they were lords and knights of great renown.

These lords and knights gave their letters to the king, who opened them and had them read. After  
having

having for a short time considered their contents, he said ; ‘ My lords, you may retire : I will send for some of my barons and learned men of my council : we will then give you our answer, that you may return back soon.’

This reply was very pleasing to the ambassadors, who went the next day to London. It was not long before the king of England came to Westminster, where he was met by the greater part of his council ; that is to say, his son the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Salisbury, sir Walter Manny, sir Reginald Cobham, earl Percy, lord Neville, and many others. Among the prelates, were the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln and London. They deliberated for a long time on the letters from the prince, and on the request he had made to the king his father. It appeared reasonable to the king and his council, that the prince should attempt to conduct back and replace the king of Spain on his throne and in his inheritance, which was unanimously agreed on. Upon this, they drew up excellent answers, from the king and council of England, to the prince and all the barons of Aquitaine. They were carried back by the same persons who had brought the letters, to the city of Bourdeaux, where they found the prince, and the king, don Pedro ; to each of whom they gave other letters which the king of England had sent by them.

Another conference was determined upon ; and, a day being fixed for holding it in the city of Bourdeaux, all those who were summoned attended. The letters from the king of England were publicly read,  
who

who clearly and decidedly gave his opinion, that the prince his son, in the names of God and St. George, should undertake the restoration of don Pedro to his heritage, from which he had been driven unjustly; and, as it would appear, fraudulently. In these letters, mention was also made, that the king thought himself obliged, from certain treaties which had been formerly entered into between him and his cousin don Pedro, to grant him help and succour, in case he should be required so to do. He ordered all his vassals, and entreated his friends to help and assist the prince of Wales, by every means in their power, throughout this affair, in the same manner as if he himself were present.

When the barons of Aquitaine had heard these letters read, and the commands and requests of the king and of the prince their lord, they cheerfully made the following answer: 'Sir, we will heartily obey the commands of the king our sovereign lord. It is but just that we should be obedient both to him, and to you: this we will do, and will attend you and don Pedro upon this expedition; but we wish to know from whom we are to have our pay, as it is not customary for men at arms to leave their habitations to carry on a war in a foreign country without receiving wages.'

The prince, on hearing this, turned towards don Pedro, and said: 'Sir king, you hear what our people say: it is for you to give them an answer; for it behoves you to do so who are about to lead them into action.' Don Pedro made the following reply to the prince: 'My dear cousin, as long as my gold,

gold, my silver and my treasure will last, which I have brought with me from Spain, but which is not so great by thirty times as what I have left behind, I am willing it should be divided among your people.' Upon which the prince said; 'My lord, you speak well: and for the surplus of the debt, I will take that upon myself towards them, and will order whatever sums you may want to be advanced you as a loan, until we shall be arrived in Castille.' 'By my head,' replied don Pedro, 'you will do me a great kindness.'

Several of the most experienced among them, such as the earl of Armagnac, the lord de Pommiers, sir John Chandos, the capital de Buch, and some others, having considered the business, said, the prince of Wales could not well undertake this expedition without having gained the consent and goodwill of the king of Navarre; for he could not enter Spain without traversing his kingdom, and by the pass of Roncevaux\*. This entrance to Spain they were not quite sure of obtaining; for the king of Navarre had lately formed fresh alliances with the bastard Henry. It was therefore debated for a long time, in what manner they could succeed in gaining this important point. The wisest were of opinion, that another meeting should be appointed, and that it should be held in the city of Bayonne; and that the prince, when there, should send able ambassadors

---

\* Roncevaux,—a village in Navarre, made famous by the defeat of Charlemagne, in which Orlando and Rinaldo, so much celebrated by the old romances, were slain.

to the king of Navarre, to entreat he would come to this conference at Bayonnè.

This resolution was adopted; and the conference broke up. They had all a wish to attend the meeting at Bayonne; and a day was fixed for holding it.

During this interval, the prince sent sir John Chandos and sir William Felton to the king of Navarre, who was at that time in the city of Pompeluna. These two knights, having wisdom and eloquence, exerted themselves so effectually with the king of Navarre that he agreed to their request, and gave it under his seal that he would attend the conference at Bayonne. Upon which they returned to the prince, and related to him what they had done.

On the appointed day for this meeting in the city of Bayonne, the king of Spain, the prince, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and all the barons of Gascony, Poitou, Quercy, Rouergue, Saintonge and Limousin came thither. The king of Navarre was also there; to whom the king of Spain and the prince paid every attention, thinking they should not lose by it.

This conference in the city of Bayonne was long. It lasted five days. The prince and his council had many difficulties before they could get the king of Navarre to consent to their wishes; for it was not easy to make any thing of him whenever he found that his services were wanted.

However, from the great influence which the prince had over him, he brought him at last to swear, promise and seal a treaty of peace, alliance and con-

federation with don Pedro. The king of Castille entered into certain engagements with the king of Navarre, which had been proposed to him by the prince of Wales. These engagements were, that don Pedro, as king of both Castilles, should give, under his seal, to the king of Navarre and his heirs, to hold as their inheritance, all the domain of Logrono, with the lands on each side of the river, and also the town, castle, territory and dependencies of Salvatierra, with the town of St. Jean Pied du Port and its surrounding country; which lands, towns, castles and lordships he had in former times taken possession of, and held by force.

In addition to this, the king of Navarre was to receive twenty thousand francs, for laying open his country, and permitting the army to pass peaceably through; finding them provisions upon being paid for them: in which sum he acknowledged himself debtor to the king of Navarre\*.

When

---

\* See the *Fœdera* for the underneath treaties, which relate to these translations.

The first treaty between Edward III. and don Pedro, king of Castille, appears to be the 22d June 1362.—Confirmed 1st February, 1363.—and 1st March, 1363.

Forbidding all soldiers to enter Spain as enemies, addressed to sir John Chandos, sir Hugh Calverley, &c.—December 6, 1365.

A treaty, in which don Pedro acknowledges himself debtor to the prince of Wales in 56,000 gold florins, of good weight, &c. which the prince, by the king's directions, had paid to the king of Navarre, &c. dated Libourne (a city on the Dordogne, ten leagues distant from Bourdeaux), Sept. 23, 1366.

When the barons of Aquitaine learnt that these treaties were made, and that don Pedro and the king of Navarre were friends, they made inquiry who was to pay them their wages: the prince, who was very eager for this expedition, took that upon himself, king don Pedro having promised punctual repayment.

---

CHAP. CCXXXI.

THE PRINCE OF WALES MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR REPLACING DON PEDRO ON HIS THRONE OF CASTILLE.—HENRY THE BASTARD, THOUGH LATE INFORMED OF IT, ENDEAVOURS TO PREVENT IT.

WHEN all those things had been so ordered and settled that every one knew what he was to do, and they had remained in the city of Bayonne twelve days amusing themselves together, the king of Navarre took his leave, and set out for the kingdom of Navarre whence he had come. The other lords departed also, and each returned to his

---

1366. The number of witnesses to this deed shews that Froissart was misinformed when he says that don Pedro was solely attended by don Fernando de Castro.

Articles of convention between Pedro king of Castille, Charles king of Navarre, and Edward prince of Wales,—dated Libourne, Sept. 23, 1366.

There are various other treaties between the king and prince, as well as the prince's letter to Henry de Trastamare, and the answer, before the battle of Navarrette.—See Rymer.

own home. Even the prince came back to Bordeaux; but the king of Castille remained at Bayonne.

The prince immediately sent his heralds into Spain, to the knights and other captains who were English or Gascons attached to or dependant on him, to signify his orders to take their leave of the bastard, and to return as speedily as possible; for he had need of them, and should find them employment elsewhere.

When the heralds who were the bearers of these orders to the knights in Castille came to them, they guessed they were sent for home: they immediately took leave of king Henry in the most courteous manner they could, without discovering either their own or the prince's intentions. King Henry, who was liberal, courteous and honorable, made them very handsome presents, thanking them most gratefully for their services.

Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Walter Huet, sir Matthew Gournay, sir John Devreux, with their men, left Spain, and returned as speedily as possible. They were followed by several other knights and squires of the prince's household, whose names I cannot remember: but as their companies were scattered in different parts of the country, they did not receive this intelligence so soon as the other knights.

Upon their receiving the information, they assembled together, and set out on their return. In this last division were, sir Robert Briquet, John Treuelle,



Treuille\*, fir Rabours†, fir Perducas d'Albret, fir Garfis du Chastel Nandon de Bagerant, the bastard de l'Esparre, the bastard Camus, the bastard de Breteuil.

King Henry had not heard of the prince's intentions to bring his brother, don Pedro, back to Castille; so soon as these knights; and well it was for them he had not; otherwise if he had received this intelligence, they would not have been suffered to depart so easily; for he had the power to detain and vex them. However, when he knew the truth of it, he did not seem much affected by it: nevertheless, he spoke to fir Bertrand du Guesclin, who was still with him, as follows: 'Sir Bertrand, think of the prince of Wales: they say, he intends to make war upon us, to replace by force this Jew, who calls himself king of Spain, upon our throne of Castille. What do you say to this?' To which fir Bertrand replied: 'He is so valiant and determined a knight that, since he has undertaken it, he will exert himself to the utmost to accomplish it.' I would therefore advise you to guard well all the passes and defiles on every side, so that no one may enter or go out of your kingdom without your leave. In the mean time, keep up the affections of your subjects. I know for a truth, that you will have great assistance from many knights in France, who will be happy to serve you. I will, with your permission, return thither, where I am sure of find-

---

\* John Treuille.—Barnes calls him fir John Charnelle.

† Sir Rabours. Sir Robert Cheney.—BARNES.

ing several friends : and I will bring back with me as many as I possibly can.' 'By my faith,' replied king Henry, 'you say well ; and I will, in this business, follow every thing you shall order.'

Not long after, sir Bertrand took leave of king Henry, and went to Arragon, where he was received with joy by the king ; with whom he remained fifteen days, and then departed. He continued his journey to Montpelier, where he found the duke of Anjou, who was very happy to see him, as he loved him much. When he had passed some time there, he took his leave, and went to France, where he had a most gracious reception from the king.

When it was publicly known through Spain, Arragon and France, that the intentions of the prince of Wales were to replace don Pedro in the kingdom of Castille, it was a matter of great wonder to many, and was variously talked of. Some said, the prince was making this expedition through pride and presumption ; that he was jealous of the honor sir Bertrand du Guesclin had obtained, in conquering Castille in the name of king Henry, and then making him king of it. Others said, that both pity and justice moved him to assist don Pedro in recovering his inheritance ; for it was highly unbecoming a bastard to hold a kingdom, or bear the name of king. Thus were many knights and squires divided in their opinions.

King Henry, however, was not idle : he sent ambassadors to the king of Arragon, to entreat of him that he would not enter into any treaty or convention

tion with the prince and his allies ; for that he was, and would continue to be, his good neighbour and friend.

The king of Arragon, who esteemed him much, for in former times he had found don Pedro very overbearing, assured him, that upon no account, no, not for the loss of one half of his kingdom, would he enter into any treaty with the prince nor with don Pedro, but would lay open his kingdom to all sorts of men who should wish to enter Spain to his assistance, and would shut it up from all who had evil intentions against him. This king of Arragon kept faithfully all he had promised to king Henry; for as soon as he knew that don Pedro was aided by the prince, and that the companies were marching that way, he ordered all the passes of Arragon to be closed, and caused them to be strictly guarded. He posted men at arms and watchmen on the mountains and in the defiles of Catalonia, so that no one could pass that way without great danger.

The companies, however, on their return, found out another road ; they had much to endure from famine and other evils before they could be free from danger in Arragon. They advanced to the frontiers of the country of Foix, but could not obtain permission to pass through it ; for the earl was not desirous that such people should enter his territories.

News was brought of their distress to the prince, who was then at Bourdeaux, occupying his mind night and day on the best means of executing this

expedition with honor. He saw that these companies could neither pass nor return into Aquitaine, for the defiles of Arragon and Catalonia were well guarded, and they were now on the borders of the country of Foix very ill at their ease. He was therefore alarmed, lest the king of Arragon or don Henry should gain by force, or by large gifts and promises, these companies (who were upwards of twelve thousand men, from whom he expected great assistance), and they might be engaged to fight against him. The prince, therefore, determined to send sir John Chandos to meet and to retain them. He at the same time ordered him to wait on the earl of Foix, to beg that, for his love to him, he would allow these companies to pass through his country, and that he would pay double the value for any mischief they might commit in their march. Sir John Chandos undertook this journey most willingly, to oblige his lord: he set out from Bourdeaux, and rode on to Dacqs\*; thence he continued his route until he arrived in the country of Foix, where he waited on the earl.

He found these companies in a country called Basques†, where he entered into a treaty with them, and

---

\* Dacqs, or Dax,—an ancient city of Gascony, on the Adour, forty-two leagues and a half from Bourdeaux, fifteen from Pau. Denys Sauvage thinks it ought to be Auch. This town is certainly more in a direct line to Foix, from Bourdeaux, than Dax. It is d'Ast in his edition; but my MSS. have Dax.

† Basques. Le pays de Basques is a small country of France, near the Pyrénées, between the river Adour, the  
frontiers

and managed it so well that they all agreed to serve the prince, in his intended expedition, upon having a handsome sum of money paid down to them, which sir John Chandos swore to see done. He again returned to the earl of Foix, and entreated him most earnestly that he would permit those companies, who now belonged to the prince, to pass through one end of his domain. The earl, who was desirous of pleasing the prince, and firmly attached to him, in order to gratify his wishes, complied with the request, provided they did no damage to him or to his lands. This sir John Chandos promised to be answerable for, and sent back one of his squires, attended by a herald, with the treaty he had made with the earl of Foix, to the commanders of the companies. He then returned to Bourdeaux, and related to the prince his journey, and the successful issue of it. The prince, who loved him and had great confidence in him, was well pleased with both.

The prince was at this time in the full vigour of youth, and had never been weary or fatiated with war, since the first time he bore arms, but was always looking forwards to some achievement of high renown. This Spanish expedition occupied his mind entirely. Both honor and compassion urged him to replace on his throne, by force of arms, a king who had been driven from it.

---

frontiers of Spain, the ocean and Béarn. It comprehends le Labour, la Basse Navarre, and the country of Soule. Bayonne is the capital.

He conversed frequently on this subject with sir John Chandos and sir William Felton, who were his principal advisers, and asked them their opinions. These two knights truly said; 'My lord, this undoubtedly is, without comparison, a much more difficult enterprise than driving him out of his realm; for he was detested by his subjects, in so much that they all fled from him when he most wanted their help. The bastard king at this moment possesses the kingdom from the affection which the nobility, prelates and commonsalty bear him; and therefore they will do every thing in their power to keep and maintain him as their king, whatever may be the consequences. It behoves you then to have a sufficient number of archers and men at arms; for you will find, on your entering Spain, work enough for them. We advise you also to melt the best part of your plate and treasure, of which you are abundantly furnished, that it may be coined into money, for you to distribute liberally among the companions who are to serve under you in this expedition, and who, from affection to you alone, will engage to do so; for, as to don Pedro, they will do nothing on his account. You should send likewise to the king your father, to beg of him to allow you to receive the hundred thousand francs which the king of France is bound to send to England in a short time. You ought also to collect money wherever you can procure it (for you will have need of an immense quantity), without taxing your subjects or country; by which means you will be more beloved by them.'

These

These and such like counsels, equally good and loyal, were at times given by those two knights, and followed by the prince. He had his plate, both gold and silver, broken and coined into money, which he liberally distributed among the free companies. He also sent to England, to request that he might obtain from the king the hundred thousand francs before mentioned. The king of England, who knew the wants of the prince, immediately complied, wrote to the king of France on this subject, and sent him proper acquittances for the sum he was to pay him. The hundred thousand francs were by this means paid to the prince, who divided them among different men at arms.

During the time the prince passed at Angoulême, he was one day amusing himself in his apartment with many knights of Gascony, Poitou and England, joking each other alternately upon this Spanish expedition, (sir John Chandos was at the time absent, on his journey to retain the companies,) when he turned himself towards the lord d'Albret, and said; 'My lord d'Albret, how many men can you bring into the field for this expedition?' Lord d'Albret was quick in his answer, replying, 'My lord, if I wished to ask all my friends, that is, all my vassals, I can bring full a thousand lances, and leave a sufficiency behind to guard the country.' 'By my head, lord d'Albret, that is handsome,' returned the prince: then looking at sir William Felton and other English knights, he added in English, 'On my faith, one ought to love that country well where there is a baron who can attend his lord with a  
thousand



thousand lances.' Then, again addressing himself to the lord d'Albret, he said; ' Lord d'Albret, with great willingness I retain them all.' ' Let it be so, then, in God's name, my lord,' answered the lord d'Albret. This engagement was the cause of much mischief hereafter, as you will see in the course of this history.

---

CHAP. CCXXXII.

THE VISCOUNT OF NARBONNE, THE SENESCHAL OF TOULOUSE, WITH OTHER FRENCH LORDS, HAVING ATTACKED SOME OF THE FREE COMPANIES, THAT WERE COME INTO FRANCE ACCORDING TO THE ORDERS OF THE PRINCE, ARE DISCOMFITED NEAR MONTAUBAN.—THE POPE FORBIDS THE PRISONERS WHOM THE COMPANIES HAD TAKEN, AND SET FREE ON THEIR PAROLE AFTER THE COMBAT, TO KEEP THEIR FAITH, OR TO PAY ANY RANSOM.

WE must now return to those free companies who had become allied and connected with the prince. I have already said, that they had suffered very great hardships before they entered his principality. As soon as they found themselves clear of all danger from Arragon and Catalonia, they divided themselves into three bodies, with the consent of the earls of Foix and Armagnac and the lord d'Albret. One of these divisions marched along the borders of the countries of Foix and Toulouse; another through the country of Armagnac, and the third towards Albret. The first division

con-



consisted chiefly of Gascons ; and they might, in the whole, amount to three thousand ; but they had again divided themselves into companies of three and four hundreds, and thus advanced towards Toulouse and Montauban.

At this time, there was a knight of France high steward of Toulouse, whose name was Guy d'Asai\*. When he learnt that these companies were near at hand, that they were advancing in divisions, and did not amount in the whole, to more than three thousand combatants, who were pinched by hunger, badly armed and mounted, and still worse clothed and shod, he declared that no such persons should enter Toulouse, nor the kingdom of France, to recruit themselves ; and that, if it pleased God, he would march out, to offer them battle.

He directly gave notice of his intentions to the lord Aimeri, viscount of Narbonne, to the high stewards of Carcassonne and of Beaucaire, and to all knights, squires and officers in that quarter, commanding them to give him aid and assistance to defend the borders against these wicked companions. Those who had been sent to, obeyed, and came with all speed to the city of Toulouse. They amounted

---

\* Guy d'Asai. When Bertrand saw the duke d'Anjou at Montpellier, he requested him to prevent those companies from returning to Aquitaine : he thereupon assembled the militia of the country, and collected a force of five hundred lances and four thousand archers. He gave the command of this army to Guy d'Asai sénéchal de Toulouse, Arnould d'Espagne sénéchal de Carcassonne, Guy de Prohins sénéchal de Beaucaire, and Aimeri viscount de Narbonne.

to five hundred men at arms, knights and squire, with upwards of four thousand infantry, who immediately took the field, and marched towards Montauban, seven leagues distant from Toulouse. Those who arrived first, and the others as they came in, instantly quitted the town, to wait until the whole were assembled together.

When the viscount of Narbonne and sir Guy d'Afai, who were the commanders of these men at arms, had left Toulouse, they fixed their quarters near to Montauban, which was at that time dependant on the prince of Wales, who had appointed for its governor a knight called sir John Combes. These French lords ordered their scouts, with the van-guard, to advance to Montauban, in hopes of drawing out some of the companions who had lately arrived there, and who were entertained by sir John Combes.

The governor of Montauban was much surprised, on hearing that the French were come with a numerous army so near to his town, because the territory belonged to the prince: he ascended, therefore, the battlements of the gates, and, having obtained a hearing from these scouts, demanded who had sent them thither, and for what reason they had thus come upon the lands of the prince, who was their neighbour, and who had sworn friendship to the king and kingdom of France.

They answered him, that they were not charged by the lords who had sent them thither to give any reasons for so doing; but that, in order to be satisfied, he might come himself, or send any one to their

their commanders, who would give him an answer. 'Indeed,' replied the governor of Montauban, 'I shall beg of you then to go back, and tell them to send me a passport, that I may safely come to them and return, or let them send to inform me fully for what reasons they have marched in this warlike manner against me; for did I think they were in earnest to make war, I would immediately inform my lord the prince of it, who would speedily provide a remedy.' They willingly accepted his proposal, and returned to their lords, to whom they exactly repeated the governor's words.

The passport was made out in sir John's name, and sent to Montauban. Upon the receipt of it, he set out, attended only by four persons, and went to the quarters of these lords, who were ready dressed to receive him, and prepared with their answers. He saluted them, which they returned; he then asked them their reasons for ordering troops to advance to the fortrefs which was a dependance on the prince. They replied; 'We wish not to invade the rights of any one, nor to make war; but we are determined to pursue our enemies where we know they are.' 'Who are your enemies? and where are they?' demanded the knight.

'In God's name,' answered the viscount of Narbonne, 'they are at this moment in Montauban. They are robbers and pillagers, who have severely oppressed the kingdom of France. And you, sir John, if you had been courteous to your neighbours, ought not thus to have supported them in their robberies of poor persons, without a shadow of justice;

justice; for these are the causes that give rise to hatred between the great. If you do not therefore drive them out of your fortresses, you are neither a friend to the king nor kingdom of France.'

'My lords,' replied the governor, 'it is true there are men at arms in my garrison, whom my lord the prince has ordered thither, and whom I retain for him. I am not therefore inclined to send them away thus suddenly. If they have given you any cause of displeasure, I do not see from whom you can right yourselves; for they are men at arms, and they will support themselves in their usual manner, either on the territories of the king of France or on those of the prince.'

The lord of Narbonne and sir Guy d'Asai made answer by saying; 'They are indeed men at arms, but of such a sort that they cannot exist without pillage and robbery, and have very unbecomingly trespassed on our boundaries, for which they shall pay dearly, if we could but once meet with them in the open plains. They have burnt, stolen, and done many shameful acts within the jurisdiction of Toulouse, complaints of which have been made to us, which if we suffer to go unpunished, we shall be traitors to the king our lord, who has appointed us to watch over and guard his country. You will therefore tell them from us, for, since we know where their quarters are, we can find them, that they shall make us amends for their proceedings, or they will fare the worse for it.'

The governor could not, at that time, get any other answer from them. He returned very ill pleased,

pleased, and said that all their menaces would not make him change his mind. Upon his return, he told the companions all that had passed, as well as the message he was to deliver to them. The leaders, on hearing it, were not much satisfied; for they were unequal in numbers to the French, so that they kept themselves on their guard as much as they could.

Now it chanced, that exactly five days after this conversation, sir Perducas d'Albret with a large body of companions were on their march to pass through Montauban, for that was the direct road into the principality. He sent information of it to the governor: which when sir Robert Cheney and the other companions who had shut themselves up in the town heard, they were mightily rejoiced. They secretly made sir Perducas acquainted with the arrival of the French, and how they kept them besieged, threatening them much: they also informed him of the numbers of the French, with the names of their commanders.

When sir Perducas learnt this, he was no way frightened, but, collecting his men in a body, galloped into Montauban, where he was joyfully received. Upon their arrival, they discussed among themselves, what would be most advisable to do: they unanimously resolved, that on the morrow they would arm, issue out of the town, and address themselves to the French, to request they would allow them peaceably to pass on. If they would not agree to this, and it were absolutely necessary to fight,

fight, they would then exert themselves, and risk the event of a battle.

What they had determined the preceding day, they put in execution the following. On the morning, having armed themselves and mounted their horses, their trumpets sounded, when they sallied out of Montauban. The French had already drawn up before the town, from the alarm of what they saw and heard the preceding evening, so that the companies could not pass but through them. Upon this, sir Perducas d'Albret and sir Robert Cheney stepped forward, to demand a parley of the French; and to beg of them to allow them quietly to pass. But these lords sent to inform them, they would have nothing to say to them, and that they should not pass but over the points of their spears and swords. They instantly began to shout their war-cry, and to call out, 'Advance, advance upon these robbers, who pillage the world, and who live upon every one, without reason or justice.'

When the companions saw that they must fight in earnest, or die with dishonor, they dismounted, and formed their line, to wait for the French, who advanced very boldly on foot to meet them. Much fighting and pursuing now commenced: many hard blows were given, which knocked down several on each side. The combat was severe and long: many gallant deeds were performed, and several knights and squires unhorsed. The French, however, were more in number than the companions by at least two to one. They had not, therefore, any cause of

fear, and by valiantly fighting, drove the companions far back, even within the barriers. When they were in that situation, the combat became more hot: many were killed and wounded on both sides. It would have been very hard with the companions; if the governor had not ordered all the town-people to take arms and assist, to the utmost of their power, those who were attached to the service of their prince.

The inhabitants immediately took to their arms, and united themselves with the companies in the fray. Even the women, having collected stones, ascended their garrets, whence they flung so many on the French that they had sufficient employment in shielding themselves from them, and by wounding many made them retreat. The companions, upon this, took courage (for they had been for a considerable time in great peril,) and boldly attacked the French. Many as gallant deeds were performed by captures and rescues as had been seen for some time, though the companies were but few in comparison of the French: every man exerted himself to do his duty well, and to drive the enemy by force out of the town.

It happened, that during this engagement, the bastard de Breteuil and Nandon de Bagerant, with about four hundred men whom they commanded, entered the back way into the town. They had marched all night with the greatest expedition; for they had had information how the French were besieging their comrades in Montauban. The battle was now renewed with fresh vigour; and the French



were sadly beaten by these new comers. All those combats lasted from eight o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon. At last, the French were completely discomfited and put to flight: happy were those who could find horses to mount and escape.

The viscount of Narbonne, sir Guy d'Asai, the earl of Uzès, the lord de Montmorillon, the sénéchal de Carcassonne, the sénéchal de Beaucaire, with upwards of a hundred knights, as well of France as of Provence, and the adjoining countries, many rich squires, and others of large property in Toulouse and Montpellier, were made prisoners. They would have taken more, if they had pursued them; but, as they were few in number and badly mounted, they were afraid to follow them, contenting themselves with what they had got.

This battle was fought before Montauban, the vigil of the feast of our Lady, in August 1366. After this defeat, sir Perducas d'Albret, sir Robert Cheney, sir John Combes, the bastard de Breteuil and Nandon de Bagerant, divided the booty they had gained among themselves and their companies.

All those who had made any prisoners were to keep them, in order to gain by their ransom, or to give them their liberty, as they pleased. They were very attentive to them, accepting moderate ransoms, suitable to their rank, or the state of their affairs. They were the kinder to them, because this affair had turned out fortunately, and through their own gallantry. Those who had pledged away, having fixed a time for bringing



bringing their ransoms to Bourdeaux, or other places more agreeable to them. Each now departed, and returned to his own country. The companies marched to join the prince, who received them very graciously, and sent them to their quarters in a country, called Basques, which is among the mountains.

I will now relate the end of this business, in what manner the viscount of Narbonne, the high steward of Toulouse and the other prisoners, paid their ransoms.

Pope Urban V. who at this time reigned, hated mortally these free companies, whom he had for a long time excommunicated on account of their wicked deeds. Upon being informed of this engagement, and how the viscount of Narbonne, having exerted himself to the utmost to succeed in his attack upon them, had been miserably defeated, he was in a great rage. This was increased, on learning that, having given pledges for their ransoms, they were returned home. He immediately sent expresses to them, strictly forbidding them to pay any ransom, and at the same time dispensations and absolutions from all engagements on this subject.

Thus were these lords, knights and squires, who had been made prisoners at Montauban, acquitted of their ransoms; for they dared not disobey the orders of the pope. It turned out luckily for some, but quite the contrary to the companions, who were expecting the money: indeed they were in want of it, and intended out of it to equip themselves hand-

homely, as foldiers should do who have a sufficiency, but they never received any thing. This order of the pope was so hurtful to them that they made frequent complaints of it to sir John Chandos, who, being constable of Aquitaine, had the superintendence of such affairs by right of office: but he turned them off as well as he could, because he was fully acquainted that they were excommunicated by the pope, and that all their thoughts and acts were turned to pillage. I do not believe they ever received any of this debt at any time afterwards.

---

CHAP. CCXXXIII.

DURING THE TIME THE PRINCE OF WALES IS PREPARING FOR HIS EXPEDITION INTO CASTILLE, THE KING OF MAJORCA SEEKS REFUGE WITH HIM AGAINST THE KING OF ARRAGON. —THE PRINCE DISPLEASES THE LORD D'ALBRET.

WE will now return to the prince of Wales, and shew with what perseverance he continued to make preparations for his expedition. He had, as I have before related, gained over all the free companies, who might be about twelve thousand fighting men. It had cost him much to retain as well as to subsist them, which he did at his own expense, from the end of August until they quitted the principality the beginning of February. In addition to these, the prince accepted the services of men at arms

arms from every quarter whence he could obtain them, under his dependance.

From the kingdom of France, there came none ; for king Henry had every person from that kingdom, on account of the alliances that existed between their sovereign and king Henry, who had also some of the free companies that came from Brittany, and were attached to sir Bertrand du Guesclin : of these, sir Bertrand de Budes, sir Alain de St. Pol, sir William de Brueix, and sir Alain de Couvette, were the leaders. The prince might have had foreign men at arms, such as Flemings, Germans and Brabanters, if he had chosen it ; but he sent away numbers, choosing to depend more on his own subjects and vassals than on strangers. There came, therefore, to him a great reinforcement from England ; for, when the king his father found this expedition was near taking place, he gave leave for his son, the duke of Lancaster, to go to the prince of Wales, with a large body of men at arms ; that is to say, four hundred men at arms and four hundred archers. As soon as the prince heard that his brother was coming to him, he was much rejoiced, and gave orders accordingly.

At this period, the lord James, king of Majorca, came to visit the prince in the city of Bourdeaux ; for such was his title, though he possessed nothing, the king of Arragon having kept his kingdom from him by force, and caused his father to be put to death in prison, in a city of Arragon called Barcelona. On which account, this king James, to revenge the death of his father, and to recover his

inheritance, had left the kingdom of Naples, whose queen was at that time his wife\*.

The prince of Wales received the king of Majorca very kindly, and entertained him handsomely. After he had heard from him the reasons of his coming, and the cause why the king of Arragon did him so much wrong, in keeping his heritage from him, and destroying his father, the prince replied; 'Sir king, I promise you most loyally, that upon our return from Spain, we will undertake to replace you on your throne of Majorca, either by treaty or by force of arms.'

These promises were highly pleasing to the king. He remained at Bourdeaux with the prince, waiting for his departure for Spain with the others. The prince, through respect, equipped him as handsomely as he could; because he was a stranger, far distant from his own country, and his finances were but low.

Great complaints were daily made to the prince of the bad conduct of the free companies, who were doing all possible mischief to the inhabitants of the countries where they were quartered. They pressed the prince to hasten his march, who would willingly have complied, if he had not been advised to let Christmas pass over, so that he should have winter

\* Don Jayme, king of Majorca, married Jane queen of Naples 1303.—FERRARAS.

Towards the end of this year, the infant Philip of Navarre died. *Idem*.—If, as before mentioned, he married Jane, don Jayme must have married the widow.

in his rear. The prince listened to this counsel the more, because his lady the princess, being far gone with child, was melancholy and sorrowful at the thoughts of his absence. He was desirous to wait until she should be brought to bed, as she wished to detain him.

During this time he was collecting great quantities of purveyances of all kinds ; and well he had need to do so, for he was about to enter a country where he would find little enough. Whilst he remained at Bourdeaux, the prince and his council held many consultations together. It seems to me, that the lord d'Albret and his thousand lances were countermanded, and that the prince, by the advice of his council, wrote to him in such terms as these.

‘ My lord d'Albret, whereas, out of our liberal bounty, we have retained you with a thousand lances, to serve under us in the expedition which through the grace of God, we intend speedily to undertake, and briefly to finish : having duly considered the business, and the costs and expenses we are at, as well for those who have entered into our service as for the free companies, whose number is so great that we do not wish to leave them behind, for fear of the dangers which may happen, we have resolved that several of our vassals should remain, in order to guard the territories. For these causes it has been determined in our council, that you shall serve in this expedition with two hundred lances only, as has been written to you. You will choose them out from the rest ; and the remainder you will leave to follow their usual occupations. May

God have you under his holy protection!—Given at Bourdeaux, the eighth day of December.'

These letters were sealed with the great seal of the prince of Wales, and sent to the lord d'Albret, who was in his own country, busily employed making his preparations; for it was daily reported that the prince was on the point of setting out.

When he received these letters from the prince, he opened them deliberately, and read them twice over, in order the better to comprehend them; for what he saw of their contents astonished him greatly. Being mightily vexed, he exclaimed, 'How is this? My lord the prince of Wales laughs at me, when he orders me to disband eight hundred knights and squires, whom, by his command, I have retained, and have diverted from other means of obtaining profit and honor.' In his rage, he called for a secretary, and said to him, 'Write;' and the secretary wrote as follows from his dictating.

'My dear lord,—I am marvellously surprised at the contents of the letters you have sent me; and I neither know nor can imagine what answer to make to them. Your orders will be to me of the greatest prejudice, and subject me to much blame; for all the men at arms, whom I have retained by your commands, are ready prepared to do you service, and I have prevented them seeking for honor and profit elsewhere. Some of these knights were engaged to pass the sea, to Jerusalem, to Constantinople or to Prussia, in order to advance themselves. They will, therefore, be much displeased if left behind. I am equally so, and cannot conceive for what  
what

what reason I have deserved this treatment. My dear lord, have the goodness to understand I cannot separate myself from them. I am the worst and least among them; and, if any of them be dismissed, I am convinced they will all go their ways. May God keep you in his holy protection!—Given,’ &c.

When the prince of Wales received this answer, he looked upon it as a very presumptuous one; as did also some knights from England, who were present, and of his council. The prince shook his head, and said in English (as I was told, for at the time I was not at Bourdeaux); ‘This lord d’Albret is too great a man for my country, when he thus wishes to disobey the orders of my council; but, by God, it shall not be as he thinks to have it. Let him stay behind, if he will: for we will perform this expedition, if it please God, without his thousand lances.’ Some English knights added; ‘My lord, you are but little acquainted with the thoughts of these Gascons, nor how vain-glorious they are: they have but little love for us, nor have they had much for some time past. Do you not remember how arrogantly they behaved to you when king John of France was first brought to Bourdeaux? They then declared publicly, that it was by their means alone you had succeeded at Poitiers, and made the king of France your prisoner. It is apparent that they had intended carrying things farther; for you were upwards of four months negotiating with them before they would consent that king John should be carried to England, and

and it was first necessary for you to comply with their demands in order to preserve their attachment.'

Upon hearing this, the prince was silent, but did not the less occupy his thoughts with what had just been said.

This was the first ground of the hatred between the prince of Wales and the lord d'Albret. The lord d'Albret was at the time in great peril; for the prince was of a high overbearing spirit, and cruel in his hatred: he would, right or wrong, that every lord who was under his command should be dependant on him: but the earl of Armagnac, uncle to the lord d'Albret, hearing of this quarrel between the prince and his nephew, came to Bourdeaux to wait on the prince. Sir John Chandos and sir William Felton (by whose advice and counsels the prince solely acted) managed the matter so well that the prince was appeased, and said nothing more. However, the lord d'Albret received orders to join with only two hundred lances, which was equally disagreeable to him and to his vassals: they never afterwards were so affectionate to the prince as they had formerly been. They were forced, nevertheless, to bear this disappointment as well as they could, for they had no remedy for it.



202  
CHAP. CCXXXIV.

THE BIRTH OF RICHARD, SON OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, TO ACCOMPANY HIS BROTHER ON HIS INTENDED EXPEDITION.—NEW TREATIES WITH THE KING OF NAVARRE, FOR THE SECURITY OF PASSING THROUGH HIS KINGDOM.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN RETURNS TO THE ASSISTANCE OF KING HENRY.

**T**IME passed away so quickly while the prince was collecting his stores, and waiting the arrival of his brother the duke of Lancaster, that the princess was taken in labour, and, through God's grace, delivered of a fine boy on a Wednesday, the feast of the Epiphany, in the year 1367. The child was born about eight o'clock in the morning.

The prince and his whole household were very much rejoiced at this event. On the following Friday, he was baptized, about noon, at the holy font of St. Andrew's church in the city of Bourdeaux. The archbishop of Bourdeaux performed the ceremony: the bishop of Agen and the king of Majorca were his godfathers. They gave him the name of Richard: he was afterwards king of England, as you will hear in the continuation of this history.

On the ensuing Sunday, the prince set out from Bourdeaux, with a grand army, about eight o'clock in the morning: he carried with him all the men at arms who had been quartered there. The greater  
part

part of his force had already marched forward, and were cantoned in the city of Dax in Gascony. The prince arrived that Sunday evening at Dax, where he halted, and remained for three days; for he was there informed that his brother the duke of Lancaster, was on the road to him, having crossed the sea to Brittany, where he had landed a fortnight since, at St. Malé de fine Pôterne: he went thence to Nantes, where he was magnificently entertained by the duke of Brittany.

The duke of Lancaster continued his route, through Poitou and Saintonge, to Blaye, where he crossed the river Gironde, and landed at the quay at Bourdeaux. He went to the monastery of St. Andrew, where the princess lay in, and was joyfully welcomed by her and by all the ladies of her court. At this time, however, the duke would not remain in Bourdeaux: but, having bid adieu to his sister the princess, he and all his troops departed, never halting until they were arrived in the city of Dax, where he found his brother the prince of Wales.

The two brothers were very happy in this meeting, for they had a mutual affection for each other; and many proofs of friendship passed between them and their men. Soon after the arrival of the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Foix came thither, who paid much court and respect, at least in outward appearance, to the prince and his brother, offering himself and vassals for their service.

The prince, who knew how to pay every honor and attention according as they were due, shewed him all respect, thanking him much for his obliging offers,

offers, and for having come to visit them. He afterwards gave him in charge the government of the country, and desired that, during his absence, he would be attentive to guard it. The earl very willingly accepted this charge: having taken his leave of the prince and the duke, he returned to his home. The prince, however, remained at Dax, with his army, which was spread all over the country, as far as the entrance of the defiles which lead to Navarre; for they were uncertain if they could pass through them or not, or if the king of Navarre would lay open his country to them, according to his treaty.

It had been currently reported, that he had entered into new conventions with king Henry, which had much astonished the prince and his council, and made don Pedro very melancholy. Whilst these reports were believed, and during the stay at Dax, sir Hugh Calverley and his men entered Navarre, and took the city of Miranda and the town of Puerta della Reyna, which alarmed the whole country, so that information was immediately sent of it to the king of Navarre.

Upon hearing that the companies were forcibly entering his kingdom, he was much enraged, and wrote to the prince, who made very light of it, because he thought the king of Navarre did not perform the articles of his treaty with don Pedro: he therefore wrote back to him, to come himself, or to send some person to explain those things which were laid to his charge, as it was publicly reported he had changed sides, and had joined king Henry.

When

When the king of Navarre heard that he was accused of treachery, he was more enraged than before, and sent an experienced knight, called don Martin de la Carra, to wait on the prince. When he arrived in the city of Dax, to exculpate the king of Navarre, he spoke so ably and eloquently to the prince that he satisfied him. It was then agreed that he should return to Navarre to his king, and induce him to come to St. Jean Pied de Port\*, where, when he should be arrived, the prince would consider whether he would meet him in person or not.

Upon this, don Martin de la Carra quitted the prince, and returned to Navarre, where he related to the king all that had passed, in what disposition he had left the prince and his council, and upon what terms he had been sent back. Don Martin exerted himself so much that he brought the king to St. Jean Pied de Port: he himself went to wait on the prince at Dax. When it was known that the king of Navarre was on his road, the prince was advised to send, to meet him, his brother the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos. These two lords, with a few attendants, set out, accompanied by don Martin, who conducted them to St. Jean Pied de Port to the king of Navarre, who very graciously received them, and they had a long conference together. It was after some time settled, that the king of Navarre should advance, to meet the prince, to a place called

---

\* St. Jean Pied de Port,—a small town in Navarre, on the Nive, and at the foot of the Pyrénées.

in that country Peyre Hourarde\*, where the prince and don Pedro should be; and that then and there they should renew their treaties, so that each party might for a certainty know on what he was to depend. The king of Navarre was thus dissembling, because he wished to be more sure of the articles of the treaty being complied with than he was at that moment; for he was afraid, that if these companies should once enter his territories before what he demanded was fully signed and agreed to, it would never be thought of afterwards.

The duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos, having finished their business, returned, and related what they had done to the prince and don Pedro. This agreement was satisfactory to both of them. They kept the appointment, and went to the place fixed on, where they met the king of Navarre and his privy council. There were at Peyre Hourarde these three princes, the prince of Wales, don Pedro and the duke of Lancaster, on one part, and the king of Navarre on the other, where long conferences were held between them. At last, it was finally settled what each party was to receive and to perform; and the treaties which had been made before, at Bayonne, were renewed. The king of Navarre then knew for certain what was to be given up to him in the kingdom of Castille. He swore to maintain and preserve faithfully peace and friendship with don Pedro. They broke up their conferences very amicably, having settled that the prince and his army might pass through his country when-

---

\* Peyre Hourarde,—a town in Gascony, diocese of Dax.

ever he pleased, as all the defiles were left unguarded; and provision would be had for the men, upon paying for it. The king of Navarre returned to the city of Pampeluna, and the king don Pedro, the prince and his brother, to their quarters at Dax.

There were at this time many great barons from Poitou, Gascony, and Brittany, who had not joined the army of the prince. They had remained behind, because, as has been before said, it was not quite clear, until after this last conference, if the prince would have a free passage through Navarre. It was even thought in France, that it would be refused him, and that the king of Navarre would cause this expedition to fail. However, the contrary happened.

When the knights and squires of each party found that the passage was open, they hastened their preparations, and made speed to join their friends; for they knew the prince would pass soon, and that he would not return without a battle.

Sir Olivier de Clifton came with a handsome company of men at arms; and also, but very unwillingly, came last, the lord d'Albret, with two hundred lances: he was accompanied in this expedition by the capital de Buch.

Every thing which had passed in these conferences was known in France; for there were messengers constantly going and coming, who carried with them all the news they could pick up. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin (who was with the duke of Anjou) was no sooner informed that the passes in Navarre were open, and that the prince was on his march, than he  
hastened

hastened his departure, and reiterated his functions; for he knew now, that this business would not be settled without an engagement. He took the road to Arragon, in order to join king Henry as speedily as possible. He was followed by all sorts of men at arms to whom he had sent his orders. Many came from France and other countries, who were attached to him, or who were desirous of acquiring honor. We will now return to the prince, and relate what befel him and his army in his passage through Navarre.

---

CHAP. CCXXXV.

THE PRINCE OF WALES AND HIS ARMY PASS THE MOUNTAINS OF NAVARRE, AND ARRIVE AT PAMPELUNA.—KING HENRY OF CASTILLE WRITES LETTERS TO HIM.—SIR WILLIAM FELTON COMMANDS AN ADVANCED PARTY OF THE ARMY.

**B**ETWEEN St. Jean Pied de Port and Pampeluna are the defiles and strong passes of Navarre, which are very dangerous: for there are a hundred situations among them which a handful of men would guard and shut up against a whole army.

It was very cold in these countries when the army passed, for it was the month of February. But before they began their march, though very eager to get forward, the principal leaders held a council to determine in what numbers and in what manner

they should march through these mountains. They learnt that the whole army could not pass together; for which reason, they ordered it to be divided into three bodies, and to pass one at a time three days successively; that is to say, on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

On the Monday, the van-guard marched, under the command of the duke of Lancaster. He was accompanied by the constable of Aquitaine, sir John Chandos, who had under him full twelve hundred pennons, all ornamented with his arms, which were a sharp pile gules, on a field argent\*. It was a handsome sight to behold. The two marshals of Aquitaine were also in this first division, namely, sir Guiscard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cossington, with whom was the pennon of St. George. There were also in this division, with the duke, sir William Beauchamp†, son of the earl of Warwick, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Ralph Neville‡, who served under sir John Chandos with thirty lances at his own expense and charges, out of what he had gained at the battle of Auray. There were likewise the lord d'Aubeterre, sir Garfes du Chatillon, sir Richard Causton, sir Robert Cheney, sir Robert Briquet, sir John Tyrrel, sir Aimery de Rochechouart, sir Gaillart de la Moitre, sir William Clayton, Villebos le Bouteiller et Pannetier§. All these, with their pennons,

were

---

\* BARNES. See the arms in Ashmole.

† Barnes says, he was lord Abergavenny, and fourth son to the earl of Warwick.

‡ Lord Ralph Neville.—BARNES.

§ Villebos le Bouteiller et Pannetier. Barnes calls him sir William



were under the command of sir John Chandos, and might amount in the whole to ten thousand cavalry, who all crossed the mountains, as before related, on the Monday.

On the Tuesday, passed the prince of Wales and don Pedro, accompanied by the king of Navarre, who had returned to them, in order to serve as their guide. In this division of the prince were the lord Louis de Harcourt, the viscount de Châtelleraut, the viscount de Rochechouart, the lords de Partenay and de Pinane, sir William Felton, high steward of Aquitaine, sir Thomas Felton his brother, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, the high stewards of Saintonge, of la Rochelle, of Quercy, of Limousin, of Agenois, of Bigorre, the lord de Cannaibouton and all the men of Poitou, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Nêlé Loring, the earl of Angus, sir Thomas Banaster\*, sir Louis de Merval, sir Aymon de Marnel, the lord de Pierre-Buffière, and four thousand men at arms at least: there were in the whole about ten thousand horse. This Tuesday was bitter cold with a sharp wind, and snow, so that their march was very painful: however, they passed the mountains, and took up their quarters in the valley of Pampe-

---

William Boteler, or Butler, of Overley in Warwickshire; but I see no authority for it. Some of the other names I have altered from Barnes, as being probable; but lord Berners, who ought to have been better informed, keeps the very names in Froissart, who, from being a foreigner, might easily mistake them.

\* Sir Thomas Banaster,—fifty-sixth knight of the Garter,—see his life in Anstis' Garter.

luna. The king of Navarre, indeed, conducted the prince of Wales and don Pedro to the city of Pampeluna to supper, and entertained them handsomely, as he was enabled to do.

The king of Majorca crossed these mountains on the Wednesday, accompanied by the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret his nephew, sir Bernard d'Albret, lord de Gironde, the earl of Perigord, the viscount de Carmaing, the earl of Comminges, the capital de Buch, sir Olivier de Clifton, the three brothers de Pommiers, sir John, sir Elias, and sir Edmund, the lords de Chaumont, and de Mucident, sir Robert Knolles, the lords de l'Esparre, de Condon, de Rosem, the souldich de la Trane\*, sir Petiton de Courton, sir Aimery de Tarse, the lord de la Barde, sir Bertrand de Caude, the lord de Pincornet, sir Thomas Winstanley, sir Perducas d'Albret, the bastard de Breteuil, Nandon de Bagerant, Bertrand de la Salle, Ortingo, La Nuit and all the other captains of the free companies, amounting to full ten thousand horse. They had much better weather than the preceding division which crossed on the Tuesday. All these different bodies of men at arms were encamped in the vale of Pampeluna, to recruit their horses. They remained in the country about Pampeluna (where they found abundance of provision, such as meat, bread, wine, and all sorts of food for themselves and horses) until the following Sunday.

---

\* Souldich de la Trane. See Anstis.

I must say, that all these companies did not pay the demands which were made upon them; nor could they abstain from pillaging as heretofore; they also caused great disturbances in the country round Pampeluna, as well as on their march. The king of Navarre was much vexed at this; but better himself he could not: he repented more than once that he had ever consented to the passage of the prince and his army through his dominions; or that he had left unguarded the defiles; for there was more loss than profit by what he had done. This, however, was not the time to shew what his thoughts were; for he was not then master of his own country. He daily received great complaints from his subjects on this head, which, though the circumstance grieved him much, he could not remedy. Nevertheless, he entreated the men at arms of the prince, by means of some of his principal barons, who had served longest with them in Normandy and in other places in France, that they would refrain from robbing the country in the manner they were doing, which they promised and engaged to do.

King Henry was duly informed of the march of the prince of Wales through Navarre, for he had his messengers and spies constantly upon the lookout. He was therefore increasing his forces as much as possible by earnest and kind entreaties to the knights of Castille (of which he had assumed the title of king), in order to have a sufficient army to resist the attack. He also impatiently expected the arrival of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, with great reinforcements from France. He had besides issued

special orders throughout the kingdom, to all his vassals, under pain of death, that each, according to his rank, should immediately come to his assistance, and to defend the realm. This king Henry was much beloved, as the Castilians had exerted themselves in aiding him to drive don Pedro out of the kingdom: they therefore willingly obeyed his summons, and flocked in great numbers every day to the rendezvous he had appointed at St. Domingo de la Calçada. They amounted in all to upwards of sixty thousand, as well horse as foot, ready to act for him, and resolved to live or die for his service.

Upon king Henry having sure intelligence that the prince of Wales, with his whole army had passed the straits of Roncevalles, and was in the kingdom of Navarre, whence he was about to advance towards him, he knew that a battle must be the consequence. This seemed to give him great pleasure, and he said aloud; 'The Prince of Wales is a valiant and worthy knight; and in order that he may know I am waiting for him, to defend my right, I will write him a part of my mind.' He then called for a secretary, who advancing into his presence, 'Write,' said king Henry to him, 'a letter in such terms as these:

'To the high, puissant and honorable lord, the prince of Wales and of Aquitaine.

'My lord,—We have been informed, that you have with an army passed the mountains, and have entered into treaties and alliances with our enemy, to make war upon, and to harass us: all this has caused in us much astonishment: for we have not  
done'

done any thing, nor ever had the smallest hostile intentions against you, that should justify your advancing hitherward with a large army, to deprive us of the small inheritance which it has pleased God to give us. But as you are the most powerful and the most fortunate prince of the age, we flatter ourselves and hope that you glorify yourself in it. Since we have received certain intelligence that you seek us in order to offer us battle, if you will have the goodness to inform us by what road your intentions are to enter Castille, we will advance to meet you, in order to guard and defend our realm.— Given,' &c.

When this letter was written, king Henry had it sealed, and calling his own herald to him, said : ‘ Go thou as fast as possible, by the nearest road to the prince of Wales, and give him from me this letter.’ The herald replied, ‘ Willingly, my lord.’ He left the king, and taking the road to Navarre, came up to the prince; when bending on his knee, he delivered to him the letter from king Henry. The prince made the herald rise, and taking the letter, opened it, and read it twice over, the better to understand it. When he had read, and considered a little its contents, he ordered part of his council to be summoned, telling the herald to quit the place where the council was to be held.

When the council was assembled, he read again the letter, and explained it to them word for word: after which, he asked their advice upon it. Whilst they were thinking what advice to give, the prince said; ' This bastard is a gallant knight, and of good prowess ;

prowess; for he must be a valiant gentleman to write me such a letter.' The prince and his council were a considerable time together, for they could not agree as to what answer they should send. They said to the herald; 'My friend, you cannot yet set out on your return. When it shall suit my lord the prince, he will write back by you, and by no one else: you will, therefore, tarry with us until you have your answer, for the prince wishes it to be so.' The herald answered, 'Please God, it shall be as you say.' He remained, therefore, with them quite at his ease.

The evening of the same day that the herald had brought this letter, sir William Felton came to the prince, and asked him a favor. The prince, who was ignorant what he wanted, demanded what favor he had to request: 'My lord,' replied sir William, 'I entreat permission to quit the army, and make an excursion into the enemy's country; for I have many knights and squires under my command, as good men as myself, that are anxious to do something worthy of notice. I promise you, if you will permit us to ride forward, we will see what appearance the enemy makes, and where their quarters are.' The prince immediately granted his request, as he was pleased with him for having made it.

Sir William Felton left the prince's army, as the leader of this expedition, accompanied by the following knights: sir Thomas Felton his brother, sir Thomas Hufford, sir Robert Knolles, sir Gaillard Viguier, sir Ralph Hastings, the earl of Angus, and several other knights and squires. They were in all

one

one hundred and sixty lances; well mounted, and three hundred archers. There were also with him, sir Hugh Stafford, sir Richard Causton and sir Simon Burley, who are not men to be forgotten.

This body rode on through the kingdom of Navarre, under the direction of guides, who conducted them to the river Ebro, which, at Logrono, is very deep and rapid. They, however, advanced beyond it, and took up their quarters at a village called Navarete: there they halted, in order to be the better informed where king Henry was, and to learn the state of his army.

---

CHAP. CCXXXVI.

THE KING OF NAVARRE IS MADE PRISONER BY SIR OLIVIER DE MAUNY, A BRETON AND PARTISAN OF KING HENRY.—THE PRINCE OF WALES ADVANCES TO SALVATIERRA, IN SPAIN.—SIR WILLIAM FELTON SKIRMISHES WITH THE ENEMY NEAR THE QUARTERS OF THE KING OF SPAIN.—THE TWO ARMIES ADVANCE TOWARDS EACH OTHER.

**W**HILST all these things were going on, the knights remained at Navarete, and the prince and his army in the country round Pampeluna. The king of Navarre, in riding from one town to another on the side where the French lay, was made prisoner by sir Olivier de Mauny. The prince and all the English were much astonished at it: some in the army thought it might have been done design-  
edly,

edly, in order to prevent his accompanying the prince farther in this expedition, as he was uncertain what would be the issue of the business between king Henry and don Pedro\*.

Although there was no one who was not clear as to the cause of this capture, the lady his queen was much alarmed and dispirited at it. She cast herself at the feet of the prince, exclaiming, 'for God's mercy, my dear lord, have the goodness to inquire about the king my lord, who has been treacherously made prisoner by some means unknown to us; and exert yourself in such a manner that, through pity to us, and the love of God, we may have him back again.' The prince courteously replied as follows: 'Certainly, fair lady and cousin, this capture is highly displeasing to us; and we will provide shortly a remedy for it. I beg, therefore, you will not be cast down, but take comfort; for when once this expedition is over, he shall be delivered: this I faithfully promise, for I will attend to nothing else: immediately on our return, you shall have him restored to you.'

The queen of Navarre then departed. But one of her noble knights, called don Martin de la Carra, undertook to conduct the prince through the kingdom of Navarre, and to procure guides for the army; otherwise they would not have been able to

---

\* This was a trick of the king of Navarre, thinking to exculpate himself for having suffered the prince of Wales to pass through his strong country; for he had, before his last treaty with the prince, entered into one of a contrary tendency with the king of Arragon and king Henry.

have



have found the roads, or the easiest passes through the mountains.

The prince broke up his encampment, and began his march. They came to a place called Echarriaranas, where they met with many difficulties; for it was a narrow pass, with very bad roads. In addition to this, there was a great scarcity of provision; for they found nothing on this road until they arrived at Salvatierra, which is a very good town, situated in a fertile and rich country according to the appearance of the adjoining lands\*. This town of Salvatierra is on the confines of Navarre, on the road to Spain, and was attached to king Henry.

The whole army spread itself over the country. The free companies advanced eagerly towards Salvatierra, in hopes to take it by assault and plunder it: they much wished to do so: for they had learnt there were great riches collected, which had been brought thither from all the neighbourhood, confiding in the strength of its castle. The inhabitants of Salvatierra, however, were too wise to wait for this danger: they well knew they could not withstand the great army of the prince, if he should think proper to lead it against them: they came and surrendered themselves to don Pedro, craving his pardon, and presenting to him the keys of their town. By the advice of the prince, don Pedro for-

---

\* According to the map of Spain by Jaillot, 1781, Salvatierra is in the division of Guipiscoa, in the principality of Biscay.

gave them, or he would have fared worse, for he wished to destroy them: however, they were all pardoned; and the prince, don Pedro, the king of Majorca and the duke of Lancaster entered the town, where they took up their quarters: the earl of Armagnac and the rest lodged themselves in the villages round about.

We will for a while leave the prince, to speak of that advanced corps which was in Navarete. The before-named knights, who had remained there, were very desirous of distinguishing themselves: for they had advanced five days march before their main army. They made frequent excursions from Navarete to the country of their enemies, to find out where they lay, and what they were doing. King Henry was encamped in the open plain, with his whole army. He was desirous of hearing some intelligence of the prince, and much surprised that his herald did not return.

His people made also daily excursions, to learn something of the English, and even advanced near to Navarete; so that don Tello, brother to king Henry, was informed there was an enemy's garrison in that town; which made him resolve to go thither with a greater force, in a more regular manner, to see if what he had heard were true.

But before this was done, it happened that the English knights made, one evening, so long an excursion, that they fell in with king Henry's quarters. A grand skirmish was the consequence, which threw the whole army into a great alarm. They slew some, and made several prisoners: in particular,

ticular, the knight who commanded the guard was taken, without loss to themselves, and carried clear off. On the morrow, they sent a herald to the prince, who was at Salvatierra, to inform him what they had discovered. They told him the situation the enemy had chosen, and what numbers they consisted of; for they had obtained every information from their prisoners. The prince was delighted with this intelligence, and with the good success of his knights.

King Henry was much enraged that the English who were quartered at Navarete should thus alarm his army, and said that he would advance towards them. He therefore decamped with all his army, designed to fix his quarters in the plains near Vittoria; he crossed the river\* which runs near Navarete, in order to march to that country.

Sir William Felton, as soon as he heard that don Henry had passed the river, and was on his march towards the prince, held a council of all the knights who were with him. They determined to quit their present quarters, and take the field, in order to be satisfied of the truth in regard to the Spaniards. They therefore marched from Navarete, sending in-

---

\* I imagine this must be the Ebro; for by the map, there is no river that runs near Navarete which it was necessary for don Henry to cross in his march from St. Domingo de la Calzada, where he was encamped, to Vittoria in Biscay.

Barnes says, don Henry advanced as far as St. Miguel to meet the English; but it is not so in my copies, nor can I find St. Miguel in my maps. It seems, however, probable, as Vittoria was far distant, and out of the line to Navarete.

formation to the prince, that king Henry was advancing towards him in great force, and that, from appearances, he seemed desirous to meet him.

When the prince received the news at Salvatierra, where he still was, that king Henry had crossed the river, and was on his march to meet him, he was right glad, and said aloud to those about him ; ‘ By my faith, this bastard is a bold and gallant knight, and shews great valour and enterprize in thus coming to seek us. Since he is as eager to find us as we are desirous of meeting him, it is most probable it will so happen, and a combat ensue. Our best way, therefore, will be to decamp hence immediately, in order to gain possession of Vittoria before our enemies.’

The prince and his army marched from Salvatierra very early the following morning, and halted at Vittoria, where he found sir William Felton and his party, whom he graciously entertained, asking them different questions. Whilst they were thus discoursing, the scouts brought news that they had seen the scouts of the enemy, and were certain that king Henry and his whole army were not far distant, from the signals they had observed, and from the demeanour of the Spaniards.

The prince, on hearing this, ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm through the army ; which being heard, every man made for his post : they were all instantly drawn up in regular order of battle : for each man had been informed what he was to do before he had left Salvatierra, so that every man made directly for his banner. It was a noble sight  
to

to see so great a number of banners and pennons, ornamented with different arms.

The van-guard was excellently well drawn up, under the command of the duke of Lancaster. With him were, sir John Chandos, constable of Aquitaine, with a great retinue, and in fine order. Many received the order of knighthood. The duke of Lancaster, in the van-guard, knighted as many as twelve: among whom were, sir Ralph Camois, sir Walter Loring, and sir Thomas Danvery. Sir John Chandos advanced some good squires to that honor in his division; such as M. Cotton, M. Clifton, M. Prior, William Firmeton, Ajmery de Rochechouart, Girard de la Motte and Robert Briquet.

The prince made also several knights: first, don Pedro king of Spain, sir Thomas Holland, the son of the princess his lady, sir Philip and sir Denis Courtenay, sir John Covet, sir Nicholas Bond, and many more. The other lords bestowed similar honors in their battalions; so that there were made upwards of three hundred knights, who remained drawn up the whole day, waiting for their enemies, to give them battle, if they had advanced to them; but they did not come nearer than where the scouts were.

King Henry was expecting great reinforcements from Arragon; and he waited also for sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who was coming to his assistance with upwards of four thousand combatants; for he was not desirous of engaging before their arrival. The prince was not displeased at this delay; for his rear-divisions, which consisted of more than six thousand

men, were above seven country leagues behind; The prince was, during the whole time he lay before Vittoria, in the greatest anguish of mind at their being so long in coming up to him. Nevertheless, had the Spaniards thought proper to advance nearer them with the intent of offering battle, the prince without waiting for this division would not have refused the combat,

---

CHAP. CCXXXVII.

THE ARRIVAL OF SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, TO THE AID OF KING HENRY,—DON TELLO ATTACKS THE ADVANCED GUARD OF THE PRINCE OF WALES,—DEFEATS SIR WILLIAM FELTON AND HIS BODY OF MEN.

**W**HEN evening came, the two marshals, sir Guiscard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cossington, ordered every man to retire to his quarters; but, on the trumpets sounding on the morrow morning, they were all to take the field in the same position they had done before. Every one obeyed these orders, except sir William Felton and his company, whom I have before mentioned. They left the prince that same evening, and advanced farther into the country, to learn the state of the enemy: they took up their quarters about two leagues distant from their army.

Don Tello happening this very evening to be in his brother king Henry's tent, conversing on various topics, said to the king; 'Sire, you know that our  
enemies

enemies are encamped very near us, and yet none of our men think of beating up their quarters. I therefore entreat you will give me permission to make an excursion towards them to-morrow morning, with a detached body of the army, who are well inclined : I promise you to advance so far that we will bring you back certain news of them, and what they are about.' King Henry, observing the eagerness of his brother, wished not to baulk him, and gave his consent directly.

At this same hour, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, with upwards of four thousand fighting men, arrived at the army, from France and Arragon. The king was much rejoiced at this : he received them in the most honorable and gracious manner, as was becoming him to do.

Don Tello was anxious not to let his plan sleep, but immediately mentioned it to several of his friends who he knew would join him. He would have done the same to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the bègue de Villaines and the viscount de Roquebertin, if he had dared ; but, as they were just arrived, he did not : besides, king Henry had forbidden him to speak to them on this subject. Don Tello, therefore, left them alone. Nevertheless, he had with him some French and Arragonian knights, who had been with the army the whole season : he had exerted himself so much that, in the whole, he had collected a body of more than six thousand horsemen, well mounted and accoutred. His brother, don Sancho, accompanied him.

At the first break of day, they were all ready mounted. They left the army, advancing in good order towards the quarters of the English. About sun-rise, they met, in a valley, part of sir Hugh Calverley's company, with his baggage, who had slept about a league distant from the main army, and also sir Hugh himself. When the Spaniards and French perceived them, they immediately attacked and defeated them. The greater part were slain, and the baggage seized: but sir Hugh, who was behind, had taken another road: he was, however, seen, pursued, and forced to fly with all his attendants, as fast as they could, to the army of the duke of Lancaster.

The Spaniards, who were upwards of six thousand in one body, rode on, and made a violent assault upon the out-skirts of the quarters of the van-guard, under the command of the duke of Lancaster. They began to shout, 'Castille!' with loud cries, to overthrow tents, huts and every thing that came in their way, killing and wounding all that opposed them, so that when the van-guard heard this noise, the leaders as well as men were alarmed, and hastened to arm themselves and draw up before the lodgings of the duke of Lancaster, who was already armed, with his banner flying in front. The English and Gascons hurried to the field, each lord to his banner or pennon, according to the arrangements made at Salvatierra, supposing that they were instantly to have a general engagement.

The duke of Lancaster marched straight for a small hill: he was followed by sir John Chandos, the



two marshals, and several other knights, who drew themselves up in order of battle. After a short time, the prince and don Pedro came thither, and, as they advanced, formed themselves in like manner.

Don Tello and his brother were also very desirous of gaining this eminence, it being a favorable position; but they were disappointed in their wishes, as you have just heard. When, therefore, they saw that they could not attempt it, without great risk, for the whole English army was in motion, they formed themselves into a compact body, to return to their own army, and thus retreated, marching in handsome array, and hoping to have some fortunate adventure ere they got home. Before they had retired, several gallant actions were performed; for some of the English and Gascons had quitted their ranks, to tilt with these Spaniards, many of whom they had unhorsed: but the main body of the English army remained upon the mountain, expecting a general engagement.

When the Spaniards, in their retreat from the prince's army, were approaching their own, they met the detached part of the English under the command of sir William Felton and his brother, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Richard Causton, the earl of Angus and many more, who might amount in the whole to two hundred knights and squires, as well Gascons as English. They immediately charged them in a wide valley, shouting out, 'Castille, for king Henry!'

The above named knights, perceiving they had but little chance of success against such superior

numbers as the Spaniards were, comforted themselves the best they could, and, advancing into the plain, took possession of a small eminence, where they drew up in order of battle. The Spaniards marched towards them, and halted to consider what would be the most advantageous manner of fighting them.

Sir William Felton that day performed a most brilliant action: descending the hill full gallop, with his lance in its rest, he dashed into the midst of the Spaniards, when meeting a Spanish knight, he drove his spear with such force, it passed through his armour, body and all, and threw him dead on the ground.

Sir William was surrounded on all sides; but he fought as manfully as any knight could have done, and did them much mischief before they were able to bring him down. His brother and the other knights were witnesses, from the eminence, of his valour, and the gallant acts he was doing, as well as the peril he was in; but it was out of their power to assist him, without running every risk themselves. They remained, therefore, steadily upon the mountain in order of battle. The knight fought as long as his strength lasted, but in the end was unfortunately slain.

The French and Spaniards, after this, began to attack the English, and to endeavour to take them that had drawn themselves up on the hill. That day, many good actions were done. At one time, they made a general attack, and descended in a body upon their enemies; and then, wheeling suddenly

denly about, they wisely regained their mountain, where they remained until high noon. Had the prince known their dangerous situation, he would have relieved them; but he was quite ignorant of it. They were therefore obliged to wait the issue of this business in the best way they could.

When the combat had been thus carried on, advancing and retreating, until the hour I have mentioned, don Tello, tired at their holding out so long, cried angrily aloud; 'My lords, shall we remain here all the day, with this handful of men? By St. Jago, we ought to have swallowed them up before this time. Forward! forward! let us attack them in a better and more vigorous manner than before. One cannot gain any thing without taking some pains.'

Upon hearing this, the Spaniards and French advanced courageously, mounted the hill, with their spears presented before them, in such close order and in such numbers, that the English could neither break nor force through them. Many valorous deeds were done on this mountain; for the English and Gascons defended themselves most valiantly, but, from the moment the Spaniards had gained the hill, they could not make any long resistance. They were all taken or slain; and not one of the knights escaped: only a few boys saved themselves by the fleetness of their horses, who returned to the army of the prince, which had all that day continued drawn up in battle array, in the expectation of an engagement.

## CHAP. CCXXXVIII.

**SIR ARNOLD D'ANDREGHEN GIVES GOOD ADVICE TO KING HENRY OF CASTILLE.—THE PRINCE OF WALES SENDS A TARDY ANSWER TO THE KING'S LETTER.**

**A**FTER having conquered the before-named knights, don Tello and don Sancho returned with their detachment in great joy to the army, and went in the evening to the quarters of king Henry.

The two brothers who had been in this expedition made a present to the king of their prisoners, and related to him, in the presence of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen and others, how the day had passed, and what road they had taken: how they had first fallen in with the people of sir Hugh Calverley, whom they had slain or chased even to the army of the English: that they had beaten up the quarters of the duke of Lancaster, alarmed the whole army, and done much mischief: that upon their retreat they had met those knights, whom they had taken prisoners.

King Henry, who had listened to this account with great pride, replied most graciously to his brother, don Tello, and said; 'Amiable brother, well have you performed your promise: I will reward you handsomely for it; and I feel, that all the rest of our enemies must ultimately come to this pass.'

Sir Arnold d'Andreghen, on this, stepped forth and said; 'Sire, sire, with your permission, I wish  
not



not to doubt your majesty's words, but to make an amendment by informing you, that when you shall meet the prince of Wales in battle, you will find men at arms such as they ought to be; for with him is the flower of chivalry of the whole world, and hardy and tough combatants: those who, in truth, would rather die on the spot than think of flying. It therefore behoves you to weigh maturely this point, before you determine; and, if you will believe what I am going to say, you may take them all, without striking a stroke. You have only to guard the passes and defiles, so that no provision can be brought them, when famine will do the business for you: they must then return back to their own country in disorder and spiritless, so that you may easily gain your object, and defeat them without striking a blow.'

King Henry answered: 'By the soul of my father, marshal, I have such a desire to see this prince, and to try my strength with him, that we will never part without a battle. Thank God, I have enough of men to assist me. In the first place, there are already in our army seven thousand men at arms, each mounted on a good courser, and so well covered with armour that they fear not the arrows of the archer. In addition, I have twenty thousand more, mounted on genets and armed from head to foot. I have besides forty thousand common soldiers, with lances, darts and shields, who will do much service, for they have all sworn they will rather die than leave me; so that, my lord marshal, I ought not to be afraid, but rather place great confidence

fidence in the power of God and of my men.<sup>1</sup> Thus ended this conversation : wine and spices were brought in by some knights, of which the king and the lords present partook ; and then they all retired to their quarters.

The knights and squires who had that day been made prisoners, gave their oaths as such, and were put under the care of different knights.

We will return to the prince, to speak of his arrangements. He and the duke of Lancaster had remained in the position they had taken in the morning, until about vespers, when they were informed that their advanced detachment had been all taken or killed ; at which they were much vexed, but they could not then amend it. They retired to their quarters, where they remained that night.

On the morrow morning, they called a council, and determined to leave their present position, to advance more into the country. They decamped, and took up their quarters nearer to Vittoria, marching full armed, as if immediately to engage ; for they had heard that king Henry and his brothers, with their army, were not far distant : however, they made no advances to meet them.

You must know, the prince and his brother were in great want of provision for themselves and their horses, as they had entered a very barren country, whilst king Henry and his army enjoyed a quite contrary situation. A loaf of bread, and of no great size, was sold in the prince's army for a florin ; and many were very eager to pay this price whenever they were able to get it. The weather was also

also extremely bad, with high wind, rain and snow ; and in this miserable distressing plight they remained for six days.

When the prince and his lords found the Spaniards make no advances to offer them battle, and that their distress was great where they were, they held a council, and resolved to seek elsewhere for a passage over the Ebro. They therefore decamped, and took the road towards Navarete, through a country called la Guardia, which having passed, they came to a town called Viana. There the prince, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Armagnac and the other lords, halted two days, to refresh themselves. They then crossed the river which divides Castille from Navarre, at the bridge of Logrono, in the midst of gardens and olive trees. They found there a richer country than that which they had left ; but even here they were much distressed for want of provision.

When king Henry was told that the prince and his army had crossed the Ebro at the bridge of Logrono, he left St. Miguel, where he had kept his quarters for a long time, advanced to Najera upon the same river, and there encamped. News was soon brought to the prince of king Henry's approach. This gave him great joy ; and he said aloud ; ' By St. George, this bastard proves himself a valiant knight, from the desire he shews to meet us in battle. We shall certainly soon see each other ; for we cannot fail doing so much longer.'

He then summoned his brother, the duke of Lancaster, and some other barons of his council  
who

who were there, and wrote, with their advice, an answer to the letter which king Henry had sent to him, in the following terms :

‘ EDWARD, by the grace of GOD, prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, to the renowned Henry earl of Trastamare, who at this present time calls himself king of Castille.

‘ Whereas you have sent to us a letter by your herald, in which, among other things, mention is made of your desire to know why we have admitted to our friendship your enemy, our cousin the king don Pedro, and upon what pretext we are carrying on a war against you, and have entered Castille with a large army: in answer to this, we inform you, that it is to maintain justice and in support of reason, as it behoveth all kings to do, and also to preserve the firm alliances made by our lord the king of England, with the king don Pedro, in former times.

‘ But as you are much renowned among all good knights, we would wish, if it were possible, to make up these differences between you both; and we would use such earnest entreaties with our cousin, the king don Pedro, that you should have a large portion of the kingdom of Castille, but you must give up all pretensions to the crown of that realm, as well as to its inheritance. Consider well this proposition; and know further, that we shall enter the kingdom of Castille by whatever place shall be most agreeable to us. Written at Logrono, the 30th day of March 1367.’

When this letter was finished, folded up and sealed,



sealed, it was given to the herald who had brought king Henry's, and who had waited for an answer for three weeks. He took his leave of the prince and the other lords, and rode on until he came to Navarete, near to which place the king was encamped upon the heath. He made for the king's tent, followed by the principal lords of the army, who, having heard of the return of the herald, were anxious to know what news he had brought.

The herald, on his knees, presented the king the letter which the prince had sent by him. The king took and opened it, calling sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and some of the lords of his council, to its perusal. When the letter had been read and well considered, sir Bertrand du Guesclin thus spoke to king Henry: 'Sire, be assured that very shortly you must have a battle: from what I know of the prince, I am convinced that it must be so. I therefore advise you to look well to this business, to order and arrange your men in the best possible manner.'

'Sir Bertrand,' replied king Henry, 'in God's name so it shall be. I have no dread of the prince's army: for I have three thousand barbed horses, which will be on our two wings, seven thousand warders, and upwards of twenty thousand men at arms, the best that can be found in all Castille, Galicia, Portugal, Cordova and Sicily, besides ten thousand cross-bows, and full forty thousand foot, armed with lances, darts, swords and all sorts of weapons, who have sworn to die rather than desert me. I trust therefore, sir Bertrand, that through God's grace, in whom I put my trust, we shall have  
the

the best of it, as well as from the justice of our right in this affair. I therefore entreat you all to be of good courage.'

Thus the king and sir Bertrand conversed together, as well as on different subjects, laying aside all thoughts of the letter which the prince had sent, for king Henry was determined to have a battle. Don Tello and don Sancho began to draw up their men in proper order, and to busy themselves in preparing every thing: they were much esteemed, for the success of their late expedition. But we must now return to the prince, and shew how he was going on.

---

CHAP. CCXXXIX.

THE BATTLE OF NAVARETE, WHICH THE PRINCE OF WALES, SUPPORTING THE PART OF KING DON PEDRO AGAINST HIS BROTHER THE BASTARD, GAINS.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN IS MADE PRISONER, AND KING HENRY FORCED TO FLY, AFTER HAVING FOUGHT MOST VALIANTLY.

ON Friday the 2d of April, the prince decamped from Logrono, where he and all his army had halted. He marched in order of battle, as if an engagement were on the point of commencing: for he knew that king Henry was not far distant. After having marched about two leagues, he arrived before the town of Navarete, about nine o'clock, where he took up his quarters. As soon

as they had dismounted, the prince sent his scouts, to observe the countenance of the enemy and where they lay. These scouts, being mounted on the best of horses, left the army, and advanced until they saw the whole of the Spanish force encamped upon the heaths beyond Navarete: they instantly informed the prince of this, who was very glad to hear it. Towards evening, he gave out secret orders for the army to hold itself in readiness at the first sound of his trumpet: that at the second sound it should arm, and on the third mount, and immediately follow the banners of the marshals and the pennon of St. George; and that no one, under pain of death, should break his rank, without being ordered so to do.

King Henry had done exactly as the prince of Wales, and had sent out his scouts on this Friday evening, to learn the condition of the prince's army, what appearance they made, and where they were quartered. Those sent brought back true intelligence: upon hearing it, the king and sir Bertrand held a consultation on the subject.

They made their men sup and go to bed very early, that they might be more fresh and hearty by midnight, when they were commanded to make themselves ready, arm, and take the field in battle-array; for they well knew that a battle must ensue on the morrow. The Spaniards, therefore, made themselves merry, for they had wherewithal largely to do so: but the English were in the greatest want of provision; for which reason, they were anxious to fight.

The

The trumpets of king Henry sounded at midnight; on which, his whole army was on foot: at the second blast, they left their tents, took the field, and formed in three battalions.

The first battalion was commanded by sir Bertrand du Guesclin and sir Robert de Roquebertin, a viscount of Aragon. Under him were all the foreigners, as well from France as from other countries: among whom were two barons from Hainault, the lord d'Antoing and sir Alard lord de Brifueil. There were also in this division the bague de Villaines, the bague de Villiers, sir John de Bergettes, sir Gauvain de Bailleul, l'Allemand de Saint Venant, who was there created a knight, with many other knights from Arragon, France, Provence, and the neighbouring countries. There were in this battalion full four thousand knights and squires, excellently armed, and drawn up according to the French manner.

Don Tello and his brother don Sancho commanded the second division. There were under them twenty-five thousand lance-men, as well on horse as on foot, who drew up a little behind the division of sir Bertrand, on his left hand.

The third, and largest battalion without comparison, was commanded by king Henry himself. There were in it, and drawn up in array, upwards of seven thousand horsemen and forty thousand infantry among the cross-bowmen.

When they were thus formed, king Henry mounted a handsome and strong mule, according to the custom of his country, and rode through the

ranks, paying his compliments to the lords, graciously entreating them to exert themselves this day in defending his honor, and pointing out to every one of them what they were to do with so much cheerfulness and good humour, that they were all in high spirits. After he had thus visited his army, he returned to his own battalion. It was soon broad day. About sun-rise they began their march towards Navarete in order of battle, to meet and to engage the enemy.

The prince of Wales, as it has been before related, drew up his army in the manner he intended they should engage, whilst he lay before Vittoria, when the enemy did not appear according to his expectations. He had not since then made any alterations concerning it, and had always marched in this order. At break of day, therefore, the prince's army took the field, marching in battle-array, as expecting to meet the Spaniards. No one advanced before the battalion of the marshals excepting those who received orders, as scouts; and the two leaders, as well as both the armies, knew, from the intelligence of the scouts, that they should shortly meet: they therefore marched forward with a gentle pace.

When the sun was risen it was a beautiful sight to view these battalions, with their brilliant armour glittering with its beams. In this manner, they nearly approached to each other. The prince, with a few attendants mounted a small hill, and saw very clearly the enemy marching straight towards them. Upon  
descending

descending this hill, he extended his line of battle in the plain, and then halted.

The Spaniards, seeing the English had halted, did the same, in order of battle: then each man tightened his armour, and made ready as for instant combat.

Sir John Chandos advanced in front of the battalions with his banner uncased in his hand. He presented it to the prince, saying, 'My lord, here is my banner: I present it to you, that I may display it in whatever manner shall be most agreeable to you; for, thanks to God, I have now sufficient lands to enable me so to do, and maintain the rank which it ought to hold.'

The prince, don Pedro being present, took the banner in his hands, which was blazoned with a sharp stake gules on a field argent; after having cut off the tail to make it square, he displayed it, and, returning it to him by the handle, said; 'Sir John, I return you your banner. God give you strength and honor to preserve it.'

Upon this, sir John left the prince, went back to his men with the banner in his hand, and said to them; 'Gentlemen, behold my banner and yours: you will therefore guard it as it becomes you.' His companions, taking the banner, replied with much cheerfulness, that 'if it pleased God and St. George, they would defend it well, and act worthily of it, to the utmost of their abilities.'

The banner was put into the hands of a worthy English squire, called William Allestry, who bore it  
with

with honor that day, and loyally acquitted himself in the service. The English and Gascons soon after dismounted on the heath, and assembled very orderly together, each lord under his banner or pennon, in the same battle array as when they passed the mountains.

It was delightful to see and examine these banners and pennons, with the noble army that was under them. The two armies began to move a little, and to approach nearer each other; but, before they met, the prince of Wales, with eyes and hands uplifted toward heaven, exclaimed; 'God of truth, the Father of JESUS CHRIST, who has made and fashioned me, condescend, through thy benign grace, that the success of the battle of this day may be for me and my army; for thou knowest, that in truth I have been solely emboldened to undertake it in the support of justice and reason, to reinstate this king upon his throne, who has been disinherited and driven from it, as well as from his country.'

After these words, he extended his right arm, took hold of don Pedro's hand, who was by his side, and added, 'Sir king, you shall this day know whether you will have any thing in the kingdom of Castille or not.' He then cried out, 'Advance, banners, in the name of God and St. George!'

As he said this, the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos came up to him. The duke said to William Beauchamp; 'William, there are our enemies: you shall see me this day act like a true knight, or die for it.' At these words, the two armies advanced. The first conflict was between the  
 Vol. III. X battalion

battalion of the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos and that of sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the marshal d'Andreghen, who had under them four thousand men at arms.

At its commencement, there was a terrible medley of spears and shields. They were in this situation a considerable time before they could make any opening into each other. Many gallant deeds were performed, and many a knight unhorsed, who could not again rise himself.

When these two divisions were thus engaged, the others were not willing to remain idle, but advanced to the combat with eagerness. The prince of Wales, accompanied by the king, don Pedro of Castille, and don Martin de la Carra, who represented the king of Navarre, charged the division which was commanded by don Tello and don Sancho. But it seems that, as the prince and his battalion were on the point of engaging, a sudden panic seized don Tello, so that he wheeled about, and fled in disorder without striking a blow, carrying with him two thousand cavalry of his division. No one knew how to account for this conduct. This second division was no sooner broken than it was discomfited; for the capital de Buch and the lord de Clifton, quitting the battalion of the earl d'Armagnac with their men, fell upon them, and slew and wounded immense numbers.

The prince and don Pedro, upon this, advanced to the division commanded by king Henry, in which there were at least forty thousand men, as well on foot as on horseback. The fight now began in earnest—



on all sides ; for the Spaniards and Castilians had slings, from which they threw stones with such force as to break helmets and scull-caps, so that they wounded and unhorsed many of their opponents. The English archers, according to their custom, shot sharply with their bows, to the great annoyance and death of the Spaniards. On one side, there were shouts of, ' Castille, for king Henry !' on the other, ' St. George, for Guienne !'

During this time, the first battalion, commanded by the duke of Lancaster, sir John Chandos, and the two marshals, sir Guiscard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cossington, was warmly engaged with that of sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the other knights from Arragon and France. Many valorous actions were done ; and each tried his strength to open a passage through the enemy. Several fought with their spears in both hands, with which they dealt about lustily their blows ; others made use of short swords and daggers. At the commencement the French and Arragonians made a desperate resistance, and gave the good knights of England much trouble.

Sir John Chandos shewed himself an able knight, and performed many gallant deeds under his banner : but, in his eagerness in fighting and driving his enemies before him, he was so far engaged as to be surrounded, and in the crowd unhorsed. A large man of Castille, called Martin Ferrand, who was much renowned for courage among the Spaniards, threw himself upon him with a determined resolution to kill him, and kept him down in the

greatest danger. Sir John, however, bethought himself of a knife he had in his bosom, which he drew, and struck so well with it this Martin in the sides and back that he gave him his death-blow as he was lying under him: he then turned him over, and rose up as speedily as he could: his people were now all ready about him, for they had with great difficulty broken through the crowd to come to the place where he had fallen.

It was on a Saturday, in the morning, between Najara and Navarete, that this severe and bloody battle was fought, in which multitudes of men were slain. In this engagement many were the brilliant actions performed by the prince of Wales, his brother the duke of Lancaster, sir John Chandos, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the capital de Buch, the lords de Clifton and de Rajx, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Matthew Gournay, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lords de Pons and de Partenay.

On the other hand, among the Gascons, the lords d'Armagnac, d'Albret, de Pommiers and his two brothers, de Mucident, de Rosem, the earls de Perigord, de Comminges, de Carmain, the lords de Condon, de l'Esparre, de Chaumont, de Pincornet, Bartholomew de Cande, de Geronde, sir Bernard d'Albret, sir Aimery de Tarfe, the souldich de l'Estrade, sir Petiton de Courton, with many other knights and squires, gave equal proofs of gallantry.

Under the pennon of St. George, and attached to the banner of sir John Chandos, were the free companies, who had in the whole twelve hundred streamers. Among them were good and hardy knights.

knights and squires, whose courage was proof, namely, sir Robert Cheney, sir Perducas d'Albret, Robert Briquet, sir Garfis du Chastel, sir Gaillard Viguier, sir John Charnels, Nandon de Bagerant, Aymemon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Esparre, le bourg de Bretueil, Espiote, and several others. I must therefore say, that sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, don Sancho, don Gomez Garilz\*, and the French and Arragonian knights who had engaged with this battalion, did not find themselves the better for it, as these companies were composed of tried men, who had been long accustomed to arms.

There were besides many other knights and squires from England, under the banners of the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos: among whom were sir William Beauchamp son to the earl of Warwick, sir Ralph Camois, sir Walter Urswick, sir Thomas de Demery, sir John Grandison, sir John Draper, sir John du Pré, sir Aimery de Rochechouart, sir Gaillard de la Motte, and upwards of two hundred other knights whom I am not able to name.

To say the truth, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the marshal d'Andreghen, le bague de Villaines, the lords d'Antoing and de Brifueil, sir Gauvain de Bailleul, sir John de Bergettes, le bague de Villiers, l'Allemand de St. Venant, and the good knights

---

\* Gomez Garilz. Gomez Carillo di Quintana.—*Dillon's Peter the Cruel.*

who were then from France, acquitted themselves most valiantly : truly, had the Spaniards as well performed their parts, the English and Gascons would have suffered more than they did.

Those who were near king Henry did their duty like men ; for he had before entreated of them to behave courageously. He himself set the example, and performed such valorous acts as gave courage to all around him. He advanced before those who were beginning to give way and fly, calling to them : ' My lords, I am your king. You have placed me upon the throne of Castille, and have sworn that you would die sooner than forsake me. For the love of God preserve your oaths sacred which you have sworn to me, and behave yourselves handsomely in my cause. I will acquit myself towards you, for I will not fly one step as long as I shall see you combating by my side.'

By these words, or others of a similar tendency, did king Henry thrice bring back his men to the combat. He himself behaved so valiantly, that he ought to be much honoured and respected. This battle was fought with great perils : many were slain, wounded and put to flight.

The Spanish commonalty made use of slings, to which they were accustomed, and from which they threw large stones which at first much annoyed the English : but when their first cast was over, and they felt the sharpness of the English arrows, they kept no longer any order.

King Henry had in his battalion a large number of good men at arms, as well from Spain as from  
Lisbon.



Lisbon, Arragon and Portugal, who acquitted themselves exceedingly well, and did not give up so easily, but fought very courageously with lances, guisarmes\*, pikes and swords. He had also upon his two wings bodies of lancemen, mounted on excellent courfers, who kept up the courage of his division; for when they saw any part of it likely to be broken, or willing to give way, they galloped up to them, and drove them back. The English and Gascons had not much advantage here, but what they gained from their experience and by dint of deeds of prowess and vigour. The prince had indeed with him the flower of chivalry, and there were under him the most renowned combatants in the whole world.

A little to the right of the battalion of the prince was the king of Majorca and his company, who fought vigorously, and exerted themselves to the best of their power. On the other hand was don Martin de la Carra, who represented the king of Navarre, and did his duty well.

I cannot particularize all that were deserving of notice; but the prince had in his division many well famed knights from England and Gascony, namely, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Thomas Despenfer, sir Thomas Holland, sir Nêle Loring, sir Hugh and sir Philip Courtenay, sir John Combes,

---

\* Guisarmes,—‘a kind of (offensive) long handled and long headed weapon, or (as the Spanish *visarma*) a staff that hath within it two long pikes, which with a shoot, or thrust forward, came forth.’—COTTEGRAVE’S *Dictionary*.

fir Nicholas Bond, fir Thomas Combes, and several others, such as the sénéchal of Saintonge, fir Baldwin de Franville, the high stewards of Bourdeaux, of la Rochelle, of Poitou, of Angoulême, of Rouergue, of Limoufin, of Perigord, fir Louis de Marnel, fir Raymond d'Ondueil, and many more. All these you must know fought in earnest, as indeed they had need to do; for the Spaniards and Castillians were near one hundred thousand men in arms, so that their great numbers kept up their courage; there could not but be among them many who fought well and did their utmost.

The king don Pedro was much heated, and very anxious to meet his brother the bastard: he galloped about, calling out, 'Where is this son of a whore who calls himself king of Castille?'

King Henry was engaged in another part of the field, where he fought manfully, and kept up the courage of his men as well as he could by his speeches to them; he said, 'My good people, you have made me your king, and have crowned me: help me to defend the inheritance which you have given to me.' By such words as these, which he every now and then addressed to them, many were so bold and valorous that for their honor they fell on the spot, disdaining to fly.

The division on the side of the Spaniards which behaved the best, and was also the best fought with, was that commanded by fir Bertrand du Guesclin; for there were on both sides true men at arms, who exerted themselves to the utmost of their abilities. Many gallant deeds were performed by them.

them, Sir John Chandos distinguished himself particularly. He governed, that day, the duke of Lancaster, in the same manner he had done the prince of Wales at the battle of Poitiers : for which he was exceedingly praised and honored, as was indeed but just ; when such a valiant and good knight thus acquits himself toward his lords, he is worthy of honor and respect. Sir John therefore, during the day, never thought of making any prisoners with his own hand, but was solely occupied in fighting and pushing forward.

However, many good knights and squires from Arragon, France, and Brittany, were made prisoners by his people, and under his banner : particularly sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the bague de Villaines, with upwards of sixty knights ; consequently the battalion of sir Bertrand was discomfited. All those who had come thither, from France and Arragon were either slain or taken.

Among the slain was the bague de Villiers. The lord d'Antoing in Hainault, the lord de Bresueil, sir Gauvain de Bailleul, sir John de Bergettes, sir l'Allemand de St, Venant, with many others, were made prisoners.

Upon this the banners and pennons, that is to say, the banner of the duke of Lancaster, the banner of sir John Chandos, the banner of the two marshals, and the pennon of St. George and others, returned toward the division which was commanded by king Henry, shouting out, ' St. George, for Guienne ! ' Upon this the Spaniards, and those who supported

supported them, were repulsed. On one side, was seen the capital de Buch and the lord de Clifson manfully engaged : on another, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Calverley, the souldich de l'Estrade and sir John Devereux shewed themselves good knights.

The prince shone pre-eminently : he proved his noble birth, and the gallantry of his knighthood, by his eagerness to seek his enemies, and bravely fighting with them.

On the other hand, king Henry acquitted himself right valiantly in every situation : he more than once rallied his men to the combat ; for when they saw don Tello take flight, accompanied by two thousand men, they began to be cast down, and the greater part of them were so much frightened, that they were willing to follow his example ; but king Henry galloping up to the foremost, said ; ‘ My good lords, what are you doing ? why would you thus seek to abandon and betray me ? you who have chosen me for your king, and placed the crown of Castille upon my head, giving me the inheritance of it ? Return back, and help me to guard, defend and maintain it : remain steady near to me, for, through God’s grace, the day shall still be ours.’ By such speeches as these, he encouraged many, and caused them to fight boldly : they could not for shame fly, when they saw their king and lord act himself so vigorously in the combat, and address such friendly words to them. More than fifteen hundred persons lost their lives by this management, who would otherwise have been saved by taking advantage



tage of a favorable opportunity, if it had not been for their love of the king.

After the defeat of the battalion of sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the marshal d'Andreghen, when all the divisions of the prince were formed into one large body, the Spaniards could no longer keep their ground, but began to fly into great disorder, much frightened, towards the town of Najara\*, and to cross the river which runs by it: in spite of every thing king Henry could say, they would no rally nor return to the fight.

When king Henry perceived that his army was totally defeated, without hopes of recovery, he called for his horse, mounted it, and galloped among the crowd of runaways, but was careful not to take the road either to Najara or to the river: for he wished not to be surrounded: he followed another road, to avoid every danger; in which he acted wisely, as he was fully aware, that if he should be made prisoner, he would be slain without mercy.

The English and Gascons now mounted their horses, and went in pursuit of the Spaniards, who were flying in dismay, as far as Najara. There was much slaughter and effusion of blood at the entrance

---

\* D. Sauvage will have it Navarete; but I think it must be Najara, for they would never run away towards Navarete, but on the contrary towards their own homes. The battle was fought between Najara and Navarete. A river runs by Najara, none by Navarete. The Ebro is not far distant; but, if they had crossed that river, there would have been mention made of Logrono; and besides, they would then have been in an enemy's country.

of the bridge: many were killed and drowned: for great numbers leaped into the river, which was both rapid and deep, preferring the being drowned to being murdered.

In this flight, there were two valiant men of Spain, knights at arms, who wore, however, the dress of monks: one was called the grand prior of St. Jago; the other the grand master of the order of Calatrava: they and their attendants threw themselves for safety into the town of Najara, but were so closely pursued by the English and Gascons, who were at their heels, that they won the bridge with great slaughter, and entered the town with them. They took possession of a strong house which was well built with worked stone: but this was soon gained, the knights taken, many of the people killed, and the whole town pillaged. The English and Gascons gained considerable riches: they went to the lodgings of king Henry and the other Spanish lords where the first comers found quantities of plate and jewels; for king Henry and his army had come thither with much splendor, and after the defeat had not leisure to return to place in security what they had left behind them in the morning.

The defeat was very complete and dreadful, especially upon the banks of this river, where numbers were slain. Some said, as I have heard from those who were there, that the river below Najara was tinged with the blood of men and horses there killed. This battle was fought between Najara and Navarete, in Spain, on Saturday the third day of April, in the year of our Lord 1367.

CHAP.

## CHAP. CCXL.

ALL CASTILLE, AFTER THE BATTLE OF NAVARETE,  
ACKNOWLEDGE DON PEDRO.—HE PROTRACTS THE  
STAY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AT VALLADOLID,  
WHILST HE SEEKS FOR MONEY TO PAY THE ARMY.

**A**FTER this defeat at the battle of Navarete, which was completed before noon, the prince of Wales ordered his banner to be fixed in a bush, on a small eminence, as a rallying point for his men, on their return from the pursuit of the enemy. The duke of Lancaster, sir John Chandos, the lord de Clifton, the captal de Buch, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret and the other barons came thither: their banners were displayed to assemble their men, who formed themselves under them as they returned.

The lord James, king of Majorca, was there, with his banner before him: his men collected themselves under it. A little higher, was don Martin de la Carra, with the banner of his lord, the king of Navarre. In similar order were all the other earls and barons drawn up; so that it was a beautiful sight to look on and contemplate.

The king, don Pedro, came thither in a great heat from the pursuit, mounted upon a black courser, with his banner, emblazoned with the arms of Castille, borne before him: he dismounted as soon as he perceived the banner of the prince, and advanced towards it. When the prince saw him coming, he hastened, out of respect, to meet him. Don Pedro would have cast himself on his knees, to  
return

return thanks to the prince, but he would not suffer it, and took him by the hand : upon which, don Pedro said ; ‘ Dear and fair cousin, I owe you many thanks and praises for the happy event of this day, which I have gained through your means.’ The prince replied ; ‘ Sir, render your thanks to God ; for to him alone belongs the praise : the victory comes from him, and not from me.’

The lords of the council of the prince were now assembled, and conversed on different matters. The prince remained there so long that all his men were returned from the pursuit, when he ordered four knights, with as many heralds, to search the field of battle, and see what men of rank had been killed ; and also to know for a truth what was become of king Henry called the Bastard, if he were among the dead or not, for at that time they knew nothing certain about him. After having given these orders, the prince and his barons descended towards the quarters of king Henry and the Spaniards. The army, according to orders, spread itself abroad among the tents of the enemy, where they found plenty of every sort of provision, from the want of which they had so lately suffered. They made themselves very comfortable, and supped with great joy. After supper, the knights and heralds who had been sent to examine the field of battle, returned, and reported from the account they had taken, that only five hundred and sixty men at arms lay dead ; that they had not found the body of king Henry, which was displeasing information to don Pedro. Among the dead, they had only found four  
knights,

knights of their party; two of whom were Gascons, one a German, and the other an Englishman. But of the commonalty they said there were about seven thousand five hundred dead, without counting those drowned, the numbers of whom they were ignorant of: and of their own party about forty common men.

They reposed themselves this Saturday night at their ease: they were well enabled to do so, from the great plenty of provision and wine which they had met with. They remained there the whole of the ensuing day, which was Palm-Sunday, to refresh themselves.

On that morning, about fix o'clock, when the prince was risen and dressed, he came forth from his tent, and the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Armaghac, the lord d'Albret, sir John Chandos, the captal de Buch, the lord de Pommiers, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the king of Majorca, with a great number of knights and squires advanced to pay their respects to him. Soon afterward, the king don Pedro came thither, to whom the prince paid every respect and honor. Don Pedro, having saluted him, said; 'Dear lord and fair cousin, I entreat and beseech you, as a mark of your friendship, that you will have the kindness to deliver up to me the traitors of my country, especially my brother Sancho the bastard, and the others, that I may cut off their heads; for they have done me much injury.'

The prince of Wales, after having considered for a moment the request which don Pedro had just made

made him, answered; ' Sir king, I have also a request to make you; and I beg of you, in the name of our friendship and connection, that you will not deny it to me.' Don Pedro, who could refuse him nothing, most cheerfully assented, saying; ' My lord and fair cousin, whatever I have is yours.' Upon which, the prince replied; ' Sir king, I entreat and beg of you to pardon all the ill which your rebellious subjects have done against you. You will do an act of kindness and generosity, and will by this means remain in peace in your kingdom. But I except from this amnesty Gomez Garilz; for I am willing that you should do with him as best pleases you.'

The king don Pedro granted this favour, though much against his inclination: he dared not refuse it, feeling himself under so many obligations: he therefore answered, ' Fair cousin, I willingly grant your request.'

All the Spanish prisoners who were in the army of the prince were sent for, and he gave them up to the king don Pedro, their lord. The king kissed the earl don Sancho, his brother, and forgave him all his misdeeds towards him, as well as all the others, on condition they would swear fealty, homage and service, and would become his vassals, and acknowledge him for their lord.

This courtesy and much more did the prince to don Pedro, who but very little remembered them, as you will see in the continuation of this history. He made also very liberal presents to the barons of Spain who had been his prisoners. If the king could have had them given up to him, in his rage he would

would infallibly have put them all to death. Gomez Garilz was delivered up to him ; for whom he would not hear of any ransom, so much did he hate him, but had him beheaded before his eyes, on the outside of the tent.

After this, don Pedro mounted on horseback, attended by his brother don Sancho, and all those who were again become his subjects, with the two marshals of the prince, sir Guiscard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cossington, and upwards of five hundred men at arms : they set out from the army of the prince, and rode towards Burgos, where they arrived on the Monday morning.

The inhabitants of Burgos, who had been informed of the defeat of king Henry, had neither the will nor inclination to shut themselves up in the town, to hold out against their prince. The richest and principal persons of the city went out of the gates, to present the keys to don Pedro, whom, after acknowledging for their lord, they conducted with all his company, in great pomp and solemnity, into the city of Burgos.

The prince remained all Sunday, in his newly acquired quarters. On the Monday, after vespers, he and his army decamped, and marched to Villorado, where he halted until the Wednesday following, when he marched to Burgos. The prince entered the town in great parade. With him were the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Armagnac, and others of the principal lords. The army encamped in the plains without the town, in which there was not room to quarter them comfortably.

The prince visited his army every day during its encampment on the plain; for his tent was there pitched; and he gave judgment concerning arms and all things thereunto belonging: he there kept the field and wager of battle; so that one may truly say, all Spain was for some days under his command.

The prince of Wales and the king don Pedro celebrated the festival of Easter in the city of Burgos, where they tarried upwards of three weeks. On Easter-day, the deputies from Asturias, Toledo, León, Cordova, Gallicia, Seville, and from all the other provinces and towns dependent on the crown of Castille, came to Burgos, to do homage to don Pedro. That loyal knight of Castille, don Ferdinand de Castro, came also thither to pay his respects, whom they handsomely entertained, and were very happy in seeing.

When the king don Pedro had resided in Burgos rather more than the time I have mentioned, and had learnt from exact information that the rebellion was at an end, all having returned to their allegiance; the prince of Wales, in order to satisfy his army, and to act conformably to what was becoming him, said to the king; ‘ Sir king, you are now, thanks to God, king and lord over your country: all rebellion and opposition to you are at an end: we therefore remain here at such very great expense that I must desire you will provide yourself with money sufficient to pay those who have replaced you in your kingdom, and that you now fulfil all the articles of the treaties which you have sworn and sealed



sealed to perform. We shall feel ourselves obliged by your so doing, and as speedily as it may be possible, which will be the more profitable to you; for you know that men at arms will live, and, if they be not paid, will help themselves.

The king don Pedro replied as follows: 'Sir confin, we will punctually perform, as far as shall be in our loyal power, whatever we have promised and sworn to: but at this moment we have no money: we will therefore set out for Seville and its environs, and will there collect a sufficiency to satisfy every one. If you will march to Valladolid, which is a fertile country, we will return to you as soon as it shall be in our power, but at the latest by Whitsuntide.'

This answer was agreeable to the prince and his council. The king don Pedro left the prince abruptly, and went to Seville with the intention of procuring money. The prince marched to Valladolid, where he fixed his quarters. The army was spread over the country about that town, in order to find provision for themselves and horses; they continued there with little profit to the peasants, for the companies could not refrain from pillaging.

News was immediately carried through France, England, Germany and other countries, that the prince of Wales had defeated king Henry (who was himself either taken, drowned or slain) with upwards of a hundred thousand men, in a regular battle. The prince was therefore the more honored and renowned for it wherever true knighthood and deeds of enterprise were esteemed, particularly in the em-

pire of Germany and in England. The Germans, Flemings and English declared the prince of Wales was the mirror of knighthood, and that such a prince was worthy of governing the whole world, who, by personal prowess, had gained three glorious victories: the first at Crecy in Ponthieu, the second at Poitiers ten years afterwards, and the third in Spain at Najara.

The citizens of London made solemn shows, triumphs and feasts, for this victory; such as were formerly done in honour of their kings who had taken a town or defeated their enemies.

But in France, there was much lamentation for the knights of that kingdom, who had been either slain or made prisoners; more especially for sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen and several others, who, however, were courteously treated, and some immediately set at liberty on their ransom. Sir Bertrand had not his freedom so soon; for sir John Chandos, whose prisoner he was, being unwilling to consent to it, sir Bertrand was not overpressing on the subject.

We will now speak a little of king Henry, what became of him after his flight from the battle, and then return to the prince of Wales and king don Pedro of Castille.

## CHAP. CCXLI.

KING HENRY OF CASTILLE, HAVING ESCAPED FROM THE BATTLE OF NAJARA, MAKES WAR UPON ACQUITAINE.—THE PRINCE OF WALES LEAVES SPAIN, DISCONTENTED WITH THE KING DON PEDRO.

**K**ING Henry, as has been before related, escaped the best way he could, and leaving his enemies behind him, conducted his wife and children as quickly as he was able to the city of Valencia, where the king of Arragon resided, who was his godfather and friend: to him he related the ill success of the battle. Upon considering the state of his affairs, he determined to make a long journey, and visit the duke of Anjou, who was then at Montpellier, to tell him his misfortunes.

The king of Arragon approved of this plan, and consented to his leaving him, because the duke was an enemy to the prince of Wales, who was his too near neighbour.

King Henry then departed from the king of Arragon, leaving his wife and children in the city of Valencia. Pursuing his journey, he passed through Narbonne, which is the first city of the realm of France on that side; then through Beziers, and that country, until he arrived at Montpellier, where he found the duke of Anjou, who loved him much and as cordially hated the English, though he was not at war with them.

The duke, who had before heard of his ill fortune, received king Henry in the handsomest manner, and comforted him by every means in his power. He remained with him some time, and then set out for Avignon, to visit pope Urban V. who was about to depart for Rome, which he shortly afterwards did. King Henry then returned to Montpellier, to the duke of Anjou, when some treaties were entered into between them. It was related to me, by those who at the time thought themselves well informed of what was going on, (and there is every appearance from ensuing circumstances that it was true,) that king Henry bought or borrowed of the duke of Anjou, a castle situated near Toulouse, upon the borders of the principality; which castle was called Roquemaure\*.

He

\* Roquemaure. From all the searches I have made, Kroissart seems to have been misinformed as to the castle king Henry retired to from Montpellier.

‘ Henry and the duke of Anjou went together to Avignon.— On their return, they entered into a treaty, as well against don Pedro as the English; but this was kept secret. Henry then retired to his comté de Cessénon, in the diocese of S. Pons and of Beziers.

‘ Being distressed for money, he sold this county, with the castles of Cessénon, of Servian, Thésan, &c. to the king of France, for the sum of 27,000 gold francs.

‘ Henry gave a receipt for this sum, 27th July, and then went with his family to reside at the castle of Pierre Pertuse, where he had rested on coming from Spain.’

*Hist. de Languedoc.*

This

He there assembled some of the free companies, such as Bretons and others, who had not followed the prince into Spain: they amounted, at this commencement, to three hundred.

News was immediately dispatched to the princess of Wales, who had remained at Bourdeaux, that king Henry was seeking for assistance, and making preparations on all sides, to wage war upon the principality and the duchy of Guienne. She was much astonished on hearing it; but, since he was upon the territories belonging to the crown of France, she sent special ambassadors to the king of France, to entreat that he would not suffer the bastard of Spain to make war upon her, nor to have any support from France to carry such designs into effect, for too serious evils would arise from it.

The king of France immediately assented to the request of the princess: he sent messengers in haste to the bastard Henry (who still remained in the castle of Roquemaure, near to Montauban, and who had already begun to make war upon Aquitaine and the territories of the prince,) commanding

This castle of Pierre Pertuse I believe to be the castle which Froissart calls Roquemaure. It was demolished by Louis XIV. after the peace of Nimègue, who built the castle of Bellegarde on its ruins. It is a very strong situation, commanding the Col de Pertus. Roussillon at that time was attached to the crown of Arragon.

There is a town called Roquemaure in Upper Languedoc, near to and in the diocese of Montauban, so that Froissart may be right, notwithstanding what the historian of Languedoc says, which I have just quoted.

him, as he was a resident in his kingdom, not to wage war on the principality of his dear nephew the prince of Wales and of Aquitaine. To give greater weight to these orders, and as an example for his subjects not to form any alliance with the bastard Henry, he sent the young earl of Auxerre to prison in the castle of the Louvre in Paris, because he had entered into treaties with king Henry, and as it was said, was to join him with a large body of men at arms: the king of France made him give up this expedition, and dissolve the connection.

King Henry paid obedience to the orders of the king of France, as it was natural he should: but for all this he did not think the less of his attempt. He departed from the castle of Roquemaure, with about four hundred Bretons, having for his allies the following knights and squires: sir Arnold de Limoufin, sir Geoffry Ricons, sir Pons de Laconet, Silvester Budes, Aliot de Calais\*, and Alain de St. Pol. These men at arms, Bretons as well as others, advanced into the territories of the prince, and galloping boldly through the mountains, entered the principality by Bigorre, and took by escalade a town called Bagnieres†.

They repaired and fortified it very strongly; whence they made irruptions on the territories of the prince, to which they did much mischief. But the prince sent after them sir James Audley, who had remained in Aquitaine, as governor to guard

---

\* Barnes calls him Eliot du Carhais.

† Bagnieres,—a town of Bigorre, diocese of Tarbes.

the country. Notwithstanding this, king Henry and the Bretons did a great deal of damage; for his army was continually increasing.

We will now return to the prince of Wales and his army, who had been encamped at Valladolid and its environs waiting for the return of don Pedro.

The prince had continued at Valladolid until after the feast of St. John the Baptist, expecting don Pedro, who did not return, nor could he learn any certain tidings of him. He became very melancholy, and assembled his council, that they might deliberate what was best to be done. The council advised the prince to send two or three knights to remonstrate with the king on his situation, and to demand the reason why he did not keep to the agreement he had made, nor return the day he had himself appointed.

Sir Nêle Loring, sir Richard Pontchardon and sir Thomas Banister were ordered to make themselves ready to wait on don Pedro. These knights of the prince set out immediately, and rode on until they came to the city of Seville, where don Pedro was, who in outward appearance, received them with great joy.

The knights delivered their message punctually and literally, as they had been ordered by the prince. The king don Pedro replied, and by way of excusing himself, said; 'It is, my lords, very displeasing most certainly to us, that we have not been able to perform what we had covenanted to do with our cousin the prince. We have remonstrated ourselves, and made others do so with our sub-



subjects, frequently on this business; but our people excuse themselves, and say they cannot collect any money as long as the free companies remain in the country; for they have already killed three or four of our treasurers, who were carrying sums of money towards the prince our cousin. You will therefore tell him from us, that we entreat he will have the goodness to send out of our kingdom these wicked companies, and that he will leave with us some of his knights, to whom, in his name, we will pay such sums of money as he demands, and which we hold ourselves obliged and bound to pay him.'

This was all the answer the knights could obtain. They took leave of don Pedro, and returned to the prince at Valladolid; to whom, and to his council, they related all they had seen or heard. This answer made the prince more melancholy than before, because he clearly found that, though the king don Pedro entered into agreements, he put off the fulfilling of them.

During the stay the prince made at Valladolid, which was upwards of four of the hottest months, the king of Majorca was confined to his bed, through sickness; at which the prince and the other lords were very much concerned.

At this place, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, and le bague de Villaines, with several knights of France and Brittany, who had been made prisoners, were ransomed, or exchanged, for sir Thomas Felton, sir Richard Causton, sir Hugh Hastings, and others. But sir Bertrand du Guesclin remained still in the power of the prince, for he was not ransomed so soon.



foon. The English and the council of the prince thought, that if he obtained his liberty, he would immediately join the bastard Henry, and carry on the war with fresh vigour. The prince had heard that Henry had entered Bigorre, had taken Bagnieres, and was wasting his principality: on which account, he was not in any haste to grant sir Bertrand his liberty.

When the prince of Wales had considered the answer of don Pedro, he was more disturbed than ever, and ordered his council to give him their opinions on it. His people, who were anxious to return, (for the air and heat of Spain had been very hurtful to their health; even the prince himself was unwell, and in low spirits;) recommended a retreat, and declared that don Pedro had shamefully and dishonourably failed in his engagements.

Orders were immediately given for the return of the army. When they were on the eve of their departure, the prince sent sir Hugh Courtenay and sir John Chandos to inform the king of Majorca of the reasons why he was about to quit Spain; and that he should be very much concerned to leave him behind, in case he wished to return. The king of Majorca replied to the knights; 'I give my lord the prince, our brother soldier, my best thanks; but for the present I cannot ride, nor, until God please, can I raise my foot to the stirrup.' The knights answered, by inquiring if he wished the prince should leave behind some men at arms, as a guard for him, and to conduct him when he should be in a situation to mount on horseback?

The king said, 'By no means, for it is uncertain how long I may be forced to remain here.'

Upon this, the knights took leave of the king, and returned to the prince; to whom they related what had passed, with the answers of the king of Majorca. He replied, 'Be it so then.' The prince and his whole army now began their march towards a good city called Madrigay\*, where he staid a short time. He then advanced to a valley called de Foiriet†, upon the borders of Spain, Arragon and Navarre, where he and his army remained upwards of a month: for some of the passes on the borders of Arragon were shut against him; and it was reported in the army, that the king of Navarre (who had lately come out of prison) had compromised his quarrel with the bastard of Spain and the king of Arragon, and had engaged to cut off the retreat of the prince through his dominions. However, as it appeared afterwards, there was no truth in this report: nevertheless, it was suspected, because he was in his kingdom, and had not waited on the prince.

While the prince remained in this situation, he sent negociators to an appointed place between Spain and Arragon, where they met others from the king of Arragon, with whom they had long conferences for several days: at last, it was finally agreed, that the king of Arragon should open his country for the peaceable return of the prince and

---

\* Madrigay. Agreda—*Collins's Hist. of the Black Prince.*

† Foirie. Vale of Sona, between Arragon and Spain.—*Collins.*

his

his army: through which they were to pass, without doing any violence or molestation, and paying courteously for whatever they should want.

The king of Navarre, when he found that a treaty had been entered into with the king of Arragon, came to meet the prince, attended by don Martin de la Carra. He paid him every respect and honor, handsomely offering a passage through his dominions, for himself, his brother the duke of Lancaster, as well as for several barons and knights of England and of Gascony; but he was anxious that the free companies should take any other road than through Navarre.

The prince and the lords, who knew that their march would be much shortened by going through Navarre, were not willing to renounce such a favor: they therefore greatly thanked the king for his offer: and the prince managed him so well that he obtained the same permission for the companies as for the rest of his army, assuring the king, upon his word and oath, that they should pass so peaceably, and pay so well for what they might want, that he would be satisfied with them.

The prince, therefore, and his men at arms, quitted the kingdom of Castille, on their return, marching as quietly as they could through Navarre. The prince was attended by the king of Navarre and don Martin de la Carra, as far as Roncevaux; whence he continued his march to Bayonne, where he was received with great joy. He remained there four days, to repose and recruit himself. When he approached Bourdeaux, he was  
received

received with great solemnity: the princess of Wales came out to meet him, accompanied with her eldest son, Edward, who was then about three years old.

He there disbanded his army; the men at arms departed different ways: the lords, barons, and knights of Gascony, to their castles; the knights of England to their governments, or high stewardships; and the free companies, as they returned, remained in the principality waiting for payment. The prince, who thought himself much obliged to them, was desirous of satisfying them as far as was in his power, and as soon as money could be raised. He said, that 'although don Pedro had not kept his engagements, it was not becoming him to act in like manner to those who had so well served him.'

## CHAP. CCXLII.

AFTER THE RETURN OF THE PRINCE TO ACQUITAINE, HENRY KING OF CASTILLE LEAVES BAGNIERES IN BIGORRE, AND RETIRES TO THE KINGDOM OF ARRAGON.—SIR BERTEAND DU GUESCLIN OBTAINS HIS RANSOM.—THE FREE COMPANIES OF THE PRINCE ENTER THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE.—SOME OF THE GREAT BARONS OF ACQUITAINE COMPLAIN TO KING CHARLES OF FRANCE OF A CERTAIN TAX, CALLED FOUAGE\*, WHICH THE PRINCE WAS ABOUT TO LAY ON THEIR LANDS.

AS soon as king Henry, who had remained in the garrison of Bagnieres for a considerable time, heard of the prince's return from Spain into the principality, he set out, accompanied by all his men  
at

---

\* *Fouage*,—a yearly tax levied in old time, by supreme lords, upon every chimney or house fire kept within their dominions. In Charles V.'s time, it was four livres tournois. Since that time, in most places the *tailles* have been introduced in lieu thereof.

'The *tailles* were originally only allowed in four cases: nouvelle chivalerie, mariage des filles, voyage d'outre mer, et captivité.

'Charles VII. made them ordinary. All gentlemen, or such of a gentlemanly profession, are exempted from them.'—*COTTEGRAVE's Dictionary—Fouage—Taille*.

'The *taille* was levied on goods, moveable and immovable. It amounted to the tenth part of the revenues. A false declaration occasioned the confiscation of the overplus. (Beaumaupoir, chap. L.) When the kings imposed the *taille*  
on

at arms, Bretons and companions towards the king of Aragon, who had much affection for him, and who received him with great joy. He passed there the whole winter: when new treaties were entered into between them, to carry on the war against don Pedro. The Bretons, who were his adherents, had already made incursions into Spain, in the name of king Henry: they were commanded by sir Arnold de Limoufin, sir Geoffry Ricons and sir Pons de Lakonet.

---

on the subjects of their domain, those barons who were bound to serve them in their wars laid it on their vassals. According to a regulation of St. Louis, the parishes elected thirty or forty men, who from among themselves chose twelve that were appointed to apportion this tax; and they swore on the Gospels, neither to favor nor injure any one through love or hatred. These twelve men elected in their turn four who were appointed to raise this tax.

‘The Aide was a tax which the principal barons levied in money from their vassals. There were two sorts of aides,—‘l’aide legitime,’ which was rigorously exacted in certain instances, such as the ransom of the lord, the marriage of the eldest daughter, the knighthood of the son, the accession of the presumptive heir to the estate. From this aide, the clergy were not exempted.

‘The other was called ‘l’aide gracieux.’ It was demanded as a gift in certain cases, and depended on the will of the inferior. It was granted when the lord went croisading to Palestine,—when he himself, or his brother, was armed knight,—when he married his sister or younger children,—when he built or repaired any castle,—when he was at war for the defence of his lands. This voluntary tax was not long before it became a forced one.’

Introduction to M. Levesque's Hist. of France under the first five Valois, vol. i. pp. 325, &c.

We

We will now relate how sir Bertrand du Guesclin obtained his liberty. After the prince was returned to Aquitaine, his brother the duke of Lancaster to England, and all the other barons to their different homes, sir Bertrand du Guesclin remained prisoner to the prince and to sir John Chandos; for he could not by any means obtain his ransom; which was highly displeasing to king Henry, but he could not remedy it.

Now it happened (as I have been informed) that one day, when the prince was in great good humour, he called sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and asked him how he was. 'My lord,' replied sir Bertrand, 'I was never better: I cannot otherwise but be well, for I am, though in prison, the most honored knight in the world.' 'How so?' rejoined the prince. 'They say in France,' answered sir Bertrand, 'as well as in other countries, that you are so much afraid of me, and have such a dread of my gaining my liberty, that you dare not set me free; and this is my reason for thinking myself so much valued and honored.' The prince, on hearing these words, thought sir Bertrand had spoken them with much good sense; for, in truth, his council were unwilling he should have his liberty, until don Pedro had paid to the prince and his army the money he had engaged to do: he answered, 'What, sir Bertrand, do you imagine that we keep you a prisoner for fear of your prowess? By St. George, it is not so; for, my good sir, if you will pay one hundred thousand francs, you shall be free.' Sir Bertrand was anxious for his liberty, and now having heard upon what

terms he could obtain it, taking the prince at his word, replied, ' My lord, through God's will, I will never pay a less sum.' The prince, when he heard this, began to repent of what he had done. It is said, that some of his council went farther, and told him ; ' My lord, you have acted very wrong, in thus granting him so easily his ransom.' They wanted to break through the agreement ; but the prince, who was a good and loyal knight, replied ; ' Since we have granted it, we will keep to it, and not act any way contrary ; for it would be a shame, and we should be blamed by every one for not agreeing to his ransom, when he has offered to pay so largely for it as one hundred thousand francs.'

From the time of this conversation, sir Bertrand was taking great pains to seek the money, and was so active, that by the assistance of the king of France and the duke of Anjou, who loved him well, he paid in less than a month the hundred thousand francs, and went to the aid of the duke of Anjou, with two thousand combatants, in Provence, where the duke was laying siege to Tarascon, which held out for the queen of Naples.

At this period\*, a treaty of marriage was entered into between the lord Lionel, duke of Clarence and earl of Ulster, with the daughter of the lord Galeas sovereign of Milan. This young lady was niece to the earl of Savoy, being daughter of the lady Blanche his sister. The treaty was so well conducted on both

---

\* See Rymer, 1366, 1367, 1368, where the treaty is at length, and the names of those who accompanied the duke of Clarence to Milan.



fides that it was agreed upon. The duke of Clarence came from England, attended by a great number of English knights and squires to France, where he was received by the king, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the lord de Coucy, and magnificently feasted at Paris.

He passed through France, and entered Savoy, where the gallant earl received him most honorably, at Chamberry: he was handsomely entertained there, during three days, by the ladies, both young and old. On the fourth day, he departed. The earl of Savoy conducted him to Milan, where he espoused his niece, the daughter of the lord Galeas, on the Monday after Trinity, in the year 1368. We will now return to the affairs of France.

You have before heard of the expedition which the prince of Wales made into Spain; how he had left it, discontented with the conduct of don Pedro, and was returned to Aquitaine.

When he arrived at Bourdeaux, he was followed by all the men at arms; for they were unwilling to remain in Spain longer, because they could not obtain their pay from don Pedro, according to the engagements he had entered into with them. At the time of their return, the prince had not been able to collect money sufficient for them as speedily as he could have wished; for it was wonderful to imagine how much this expedition had impoverished and drained him: for which reason, those men kept their quarters in Aquitaine, and could not be prevented from doing mischief, as they were upwards of six thousand fighting men. The prince had them

spoken to, and entreated that they would change their quarters, and seek elsewhere for a maintenance, for he could not longer support them.

The captains of these companies (who were all English or Gascons, namely, sir Robert Briquet, John Trefnelle, sir Robert Cheney, sir Gaillard Viguier, le bourg de Breteuil, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Esparre, Nandon de Bagerant, Bernard de la Salle, Ortigo, la Nuit, and several others) were not willing to anger the prince; they therefore quitted the principality as soon as possible, and entered France, which they called their home, by crossing the river Loire. They halted in Champagne, in the archbishoprick of Rheims, in the bishopricks of Noyons and Soissons, and their numbers were daily increasing. They were so much blamed for their former deeds by the French, which greatly irritated them, that they would willingly, as it appeared, have fought with all France, if they had been listened to: and to put this to the hazard, they made incursions through the kingdom of France, where they did so much damage, and such wicked acts, as caused great tribulation. Complaints were frequently made of them to the king of France, and to his council; but they could not remedy it, for they were afraid of risking a battle, and some of those who had been made prisoners from the French garrisons said that the prince of Wales encouraged them underhand. Many in France were astonished at this conduct of the prince. At last, the king of France sent for the lord de Clifton, and appointed him captain against these disorderly companies, be-  
cause

cause he was a good and hardy knight, for which the king was very fond of him.

At this time, a marriage was concluded between the lord d'Albret and the lady Isabella de Bourbon, which was not very agreeable to the prince of Wales, who would have wished that he had chosen his wife from another house. He spoke very coarsely and rudely both of him and his bride. The principal persons of his council, as well knights as squires, made excuses for him as well as they could, by saying, 'Every one advances and aggrandizes himself in the best way he can ; and a gallant knight ought never to be blamed, if he seek for honor and profit in the way most agreeable to himself, provided he do not fail in his service to the lord whose vassal he is.' By these, and such like words, was the prince answered, in hopes of appeasing him : but nevertheless, in spite of appearances, he was very far from being satisfied ; for he was well aware, that this marriage would cause an estrangement of affection from him and from his party, as in truth it happened, according to what will be hereafter more fully explained.

During the time the companies were quartering themselves in France, the prince of Wales was advised by some of his council to lay a tax on the lands of Aquitaine ; the bishop of Rhodéz in Rouergue, in particular, took great pains to persuade him to it. The establishments of the prince and the princess were so grand, that no prince in Christendom maintained greater magnificence.

The barons of Gascony, Poitou, Saintonge and Rouergue, who had the right of remonstrating, as

well as those from the principal towns in Aquitaine, were summoned to a council on this tax. This parliament was held at Niort; when the bishop of Rhodéz, chancellor of Aquitaine, in the presence of the prince, explained fully the nature of this tax, in what manner it was to be levied, and that the prince had not any intentions to continue it longer than for five years, or until he should have satisfied the large debt which had been caused by the Spanish expedition. The deputies from Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Rouergue and la Rochelle were agreeable to this imposition, provided the prince would keep his coin to the same standard for seven years: but it was refused by those from the upper parts of Gascony, namely, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret his nephew, the earl of Comminges, the viscount of Carmain, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Cande, the lord de Pincornet, and several great barons from the counties, cities and good towns under their jurisdiction, saying, that 'in former times, when they were under the vassalage of the king of France, they were not oppressed by any tax, subsidy, imposition or gabelle, and that they never would submit to any such oppression so long as they could defend themselves: that their lands and lordships were free from all duties, and that the prince had sworn to maintain them in this state. Nevertheless, in order to leave the parliament of the prince in an amicable manner, they declared, they would, when returned to their own country, consider this business more fully; and that they would consult several prelates, bishops, abbots, barons

barons and knights, to whom it belonged to speak more deliberately on this demand than had hitherto been done.' The prince of Wales and his council not being able to gain more at this time, the parliament broke up at Niort, and each person returned to his own home ; but they were commanded by the prince to return again by a certain day, which had been fixed upon before they broke up.

These lords and barons of Gascony being arrived in their own country, and having their opinions strengthened, were resolved neither to return again to the parliament of the prince nor to suffer this tax to be imposed upon their lands, even should they be obliged to oppose force in preventing it.

Thus this country began its rebellion against the prince. The lords of Armagnac, d'Albret, de Comminges, the earl of Perigord, and several great prelates, barons, knights and squires of Gascony, went to France, to lay their complaints before the court of the king of France (the king and his peers being present) of the wrongs the prince was about to do them. They said, they were under the jurisdiction of the king of France, and that they were bound to return to him as to their sovereign lord.

The king of France, who was desirous not openly to infringe the peace between the king of England and him, dissembled his joy at these words, and replied in a guarded manner to the barons of Gascony, saying ; ' Certainly, my lords, we shall always be very anxious to preserve and even augment the jurisdiction of our inheritance, and of the crown of France ; but we have sworn, as our father had done, to several articles of the peace, all of which we do

not now recollect; we will have them looked into and examined, and all that shall be in them to our and to your advantage we will aid you to preserve. We will endeavour to make up your differences with our dear nephew the prince of Wales; for perhaps it has been through evil advisers that he has wished to encroach upon you and your vassals' franchises.' With this answer, which the king made to them off hand, the Gascons were mightily satisfied, and remained at Paris, near the king's person, without wishing to return home.

The prince was not pleased at this conduct. He continued to persevere, and to make his council persevere in the affair of the hearth tax. Sir John Chandos, who was one of the principal of his council and a valorous knight, was of a contrary opinion, and wanted the prince to desist: so that, when he saw he could not succeed, in order that he might not be accused, nor have any blame, he requested leave of the prince to visit his estate of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, of which he was lord, for he had not been there these three years. The prince granted him leave; and sir John Chandos set out from Poitou to Coutantin, and remained in the town of St. Sauveur upwards of half a year. In the mean time, the prince proceeded with this tax, which, if it had been properly managed, would have been worth twelve hundred thousand francs, one paying with the other one franc each fire. We will now return to king Henry, who had remained in the kingdom of Arragon, and relate how he conducted his affairs.

## CHAP. CCXLIII.

THE BASTARD HENRY OF CASTILLE, BY THE ASSISTANCE OF THE KING OF ARRAGON AND SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, AGAIN MAKES WAR UPON HIS BROTHER DON PEDRO.—HAVING DEFEATED HIM IN A BATTLE, HE IS MADE PRISONER, AND MURDERED.—HENRY REMAINS KING OF SPAIN.

THE situation of the prince of Wales and the state of his affairs were well known to the neighbouring monarchs; particularly to the king of Arragon and king Henry; for they took great pains to gain information concerning them. They had been truly told how the barons of Gascony were gone to Paris, to wait on the king; and that all that country was beginning to rebel against the prince. This intelligence was not displeasing to either of the above-mentioned kings, especially king Henry, who looked forward to the conquest of Castille, which he had lost through the power of the prince of Wales.

King Henry took leave of the king of Arragon, and set out from the city of Valencia, accompanied by the viscounts de Roquebertin\* and de Rhodéz. They had with them three thousand men at arms and six thousand infantry, including some Genoese, who served for a subsidy.

---

\* Rocaberti.—*Ferrera's Hist. Gen. d'Espagne*, translated by d'Hermilly.

This body of men at arms advanced into Spain, to the city of Burgos, which instantly opened its gates, and surrendered to king Henry, receiving him as its lord. From thence they marched to Valladolid; for king Henry had received information that the king of Majorca had been left there, which gave him great joy.

When the inhabitants of Valladolid heard that those of Burgos had surrendered and had acknowledged king Henry, they no longer thought of making any resistance, or holding out against him, but surrendered also, and received king Henry as their lord, in the same manner as formerly.

As soon as king Henry had entered the town, he inquired where the king of Majorca was lodged, and when the place was pointed out to him, he immediately, on his going thither, entered the hôtel and the room where he was confined by illness. King Henry advanced towards him, and said; ‘King of Majorca, you have been our enemy, and have entered our kingdom of Castille with a large army; for which reasons we lay our hands on you, and make you our prisoner, or you are a dead man.’ The king of Majorca, sensible of the difficulty of his situation, and that opposition would be of no avail, replied; ‘Sir, I am certainly dead, if you order it so; but I am very willing to surrender myself as your prisoner, and to you alone. If you intend to place me in any other’s hands, say so; for I had much rather die than fall into the hands of my adversary the king of Arragon.’ ‘By no means what-



whatever,' answered king Henry, 'will I act so disloyally by you, for which, and with good reason I should be greatly blamed. You shall remain my prisoner, for me to ransom or set at liberty according to my own will and pleasure\*.'

Thus was the king of Majorca made prisoner, on his oath, by king Henry, who placed a numerous garrison in Valladolid, for the more securely guarding it, and then advanced towards the city of Léon in Spain, which immediately opened its gates on hearing he was marching that way.

Upon the surrender of the city of Léon to king Henry, the whole province of Galicia did the same, and changed their party. The principal barons and lords, who lately had done homage to the king don Pedro, came out to meet king Henry; for, notwithstanding their outward appearances of friendship to don Pedro during the presence of the prince of Wales, they could not love him, from the cruelties he had formerly exercised upon them, and from their doubts of what he might do in future; whilst king Henry had always treated them kindly: not only did he not oppress them, but promised to do them much good: all the country, therefore, returned to their allegiance to him.

Sir Bertrand du Guesclin had not as yet arrived in Spain, but was hastening to join king Henry

---

\* The king of Majorca was afterwards ransomed by his wife, the too celebrated Jane of Naples, whose third husband he was, for 28,000 florins of gold.—*Vie de du Guesclin.*

with

with two thousand fighting men. He had left the duke of Anjou, who had put an end to the war in Provence, and broken up the siege of Tarascon by a capitulation with its inhabitants, the terms of which I do not know\*.

He had therefore set out for Spain, attended by several French knights and squires, who were desirous of signalizing their prowess, and had already entered Arragon to join king Henry, who was laying siege to the city of Toledo.

News was brought to the king don Pedro of all these conquests ; that the whole country was turning to his brother the bastard, during the time he tarried in the neighbourhood of Seville, and on the borders of Portugal, where he was but little loved. Upon hearing these tidings, he was in a violent rage against his brother and against the Castillians, who had abandoned him, and declared with an oath, that he would avenge himself so severely upon them, they should be a warning to all others. He

---

\* \* The duke of Anjou and Bertrand du Guesclin having crossed the Rhône, laid siege to Tarascon, which is opposite to Beaucaire, the 4th March, 1368. The real history of this siege is unknown to us ; for we cannot place any reliance on the different authors of the life, or rather romance of Bertrand du Guesclin, who relate various circumstances about it. What may be depended on is, that the duke of Anjou, having besieged Tarascon by sea and land, the inhabitants, who had an understanding with him, delivered up the town, of which he made himself master.'

*Hist. Gen. de Languedoc*, vol. iv. p. 336.

imme-

Immediately issued his commands to all those from whom he expected help or service. He sent to some, however, who never came, but excused themselves to the best of their ability; whilst others turned to king Henry, and paid to him their homage.

When the king don Pedro found his people were wavering, and failed to obey his summons, he began to be alarmed; he therefore applied to don Fernando de Castro for counsel, who had never yet deserted him. He advised him to collect as large a force as he could from all countries, as well in Granada as elsewhere, and to hasten and meet his brother before he should have made any farther progress into the kingdom.

Don Pedro did not hesitate following this advice, but sent to the king of Portugal, who was his cousin-german, from whom he had a large body of men; and also to the kings of Granada, Bellemarine and Tramesames\*, with whom he entered into alliances, and engaged to support them in their kingdoms, and not to make war against them for the space of thirty years. These kings, on their part, sent him upwards of twenty thousand Moors, to assist him in his war. Don Pedro used so much activity that he had assembled, as well Christians as

---

\* Bellemarine—Tramesames. Probably Benmarin and Tremecen, kingdoms in Barbary.

Neither Mariana nor Ferreras makes mention of any other king than Mahomet king of Granada, who joined don Pedro with six thousand cavalry and about thirty thousand men.

*Hist. Gen. de l'Espagne*, vol. v. p. 400.

Moors,

Moors, forty thousand men, in the country round Seville.

While these treaties and negotiations were going forwards, and during the time of the siege of Toledo, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, with his body of two thousand men, arrived in the camp of king Henry; where he was received with great joy, as was naturally to be expected: the whole army were happy at his arrival. The king don Pedro, who, as I have already said, had assembled his whole force at Seville and in its environs, was desirous of giving his brother battle: he left Seville with his numerous army, in order to raise the siege of Toledo. There may be between these two places, Seville and Toledo, seven days march.

Intelligence was brought to the army of king Henry, that don Pedro was approaching with forty thousand men, including those of every description. He called a council, to consider what was to be done, to which all the French and Arragonian knights were summoned; and in particular sir Bertrand du Guesclin, by whose opinion they wished to act. Sir Bertrand gave the following advice, which was followed, namely, that king Henry should immediately collect as many of his army as he could spare from the siege, advance by forced marches to meet don Pedro, and in whatever situation he should meet him begin the battle; 'For,' added he, 'we have heard that he is marching against us with a strong army, and he would be too powerful, were he to come regularly upon us: let us, therefore, be beforehand with him, without  
his

his knowing any thing of our intentions ; that we may surprize him and his army so unexpectedly as to have the advantage, and, I doubt not, defeat him.'

This plan of sir Bertrand was applauded and followed. Towards evening, king Henry set out with a chosen body of men at arms, and left the command of the siege to his brother don Tello. On his march, he had his spies dispersed over the country, in order to bring him exact intelligence the moment they should see or hear of don Pedro and his army, and what condition they were in.

The king don Pedro was ignorant of every thing his brother was doing, even of his marching to meet him ; so that he and his army were advancing slowly, in a very disorderly manner. It fell out, that upon the dawn of day king Henry and his army met don Pedro and his force ; for, the preceding night, he had slept in a castle called Montiel, where the lord of Montiel had received him with all possible honor and respect. He had left it very early in the morning, and was continuing his march in the same disorderly manner, for he never expected to fight that day, when suddenly king Henry, his brother don Sancho, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, by whose orders they acted, le bague de Villaines, the lord de Roquebertin, the viscount de Rhodéz\*, and

---

\* M. Dillon, in his history of Peter the Cruel, says, 'While Henry lay before Toledo, ambassadors arrived at his camp from Charles V. of France, who sent his chamberlain, Fran-

and their companies, with banners flying and prepared for action, came upon them : they might be six thousand fighting men : they advanced in very close order, and at a full gallop, so that they fell heavily and with a good will upon the first they met, crying out, ' *Catille for king Henry !*' and ' *Our Lady, for Guefclin !*' They overthrew and defeated all whom they first encountered, driving them before them. Many were slain and unhorsed ; for none were made prisoners, according to the orders of sir Bertrand du Guefclin the preceding day, on account of the great number of Jews and infidels who were in don Pedro's army.

When don Pedro, who was advancing with the largest division of his army, received the news that his van had been defeated by his brother the bastard and the French, he was amazed where they could come from : he perceived that he had been betrayed, and was in danger of losing every thing ; for his men were very much dispersed ; so that like a bold and valiant knight as he was, and of great resource and enterprize, he halted upon the spot, and ordered his banner to be displayed in the wind to rally his men. He sent orders for the rear to advance with all speed. for that the engagement was begun. Upon this all men of courage hastened

---

Francis de Perelles, viscount de Rhodéz, and John de Ric, lord of Neberis, to assist him, that war was declared between England and France, &c.—Vol. II. p. 104.

This John de Ric may perhaps be the Geoffry Ricou of Fossart.

towards

towards this banner, which was fluttering in the wind. The battle now became more general and hot: many of don Pedro's army were slain and unhorsed; for king Henry, sir Bertrand, and their friends, fought them so manfully, that none could stand before them. The battle, however, was not so soon over; for don Pedro had such immense numbers, as to be at least six to one; but they were so closely followed that it was wonderful to see how they were discomfited and slain.

This battle of Spaniards against Spaniards, and the two brother kings, with their allies, near Montiel, was very grand and horrible. Many were the good knights on king Henry's side; such as sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Geoffry Ricon, sir Arnold de Limoufin, sir Gauvain de Bailleul, le bègue de Villaines, Alain de St. Pol, Aliot de Calais, and the Bretons who were there. From the kingdom of Arragon were the viscount de Rocaberti, the viscount de Rodais, with many other good knights and squires whom I cannot name, who performed various gallant deeds of arms, as in truth they had full need. They had strange people to encounter, such as Moors and Portuguese: the Jews who were there very soon turned their backs, and would not fight; but those from Granada and Bellemarine fought valiantly: they were armed with bows and lances, of which they made good use, and behaved themselves right well. Don Pedro was in the midst, and with intrepid courage fought so valiantly with his battle-axe that scarcely any dared to come near him.

King Henry drew up his division opposite to his brother, in very compact order, and full of bold combatants, who shouted loudly, making good use of their lances; so that the army of don Pedro was thrown into confusion, and those near his person began to be alarmed. Don Fernando de Castro, who had watched over the king his lord, soon perceived (so good was his judgment) that their army would be beaten; for they were too much frightened from having been so suddenly attacked: he therefore said to don Pedro, 'Sir, save yourself, and hasten back to the castle of Montiel, which you left this morning: if you retire thither, you will be in safety; but if you be taken, your enemies will slay you without mercy.' The king approved of this advice, set out directly on his retreat to the castle of Montiel, and arrived there so à-propos that he found the gates of the castle open, where he was received with only eleven followers.

Whilst this was passing, the remainder of his men, who were dispersed over the plain, continued the combat as well as they could; for the Moors who were among them, and had not any knowledge of the country, were indifferent whether they were directly slain or suffered a long pursuit: they therefore sold their lives dearly. Others also acted marvellously well.

Intelligence was brought to king Henry and to sir Bertrand, that don Pedro had retreated to the castle of Montiel, where he had shut himself up; that le begue de Villaines and his men had pursued him to the castle, which had but one path to enter

or



or come from it, and that le bègue had there placed himself and fixed his pennon. King Henry and sir Bertrand were delighted with this news: they advanced towards that place fighting and slaying multitudes, killing them like beasts: they were quite fatigued with this business of butchery. The pursuit lasted more than three long hours, and there were upwards of fourteen thousand killed and wounded: very few escaped: those who did were from that part of the country, and acquainted with its strong places.

This battle was fought under Montiel, and in its environs, the 13th day of August, 1368.

After the defeat of don Pedro and his army, king Henry and sir Bertrand encamped themselves before the castle of Montiel, where don Pedro was: they surrounded it on all sides: for they said truly, that what they had hitherto done would be of no effect, unless they took the castle of Montiel, with don Pedro, who had shut himself up in it. They sent the principal part of their force back to Toledo, in order to reinforce the besiegers, which was very agreeable to don Tello, who commanded there\*.

The castle of Montiel was of sufficient strength to have held out a considerable time, if it had been properly victualled; but when don Pedro entered it, there was not enough for four days, which

---

\* M. Dillon says, that Manrique, archbishop of Toledo, assisted by some able officers, had the command of the blockade of Seville, when Henry marched to meet don Pedro; and that don Tello had joined the king of Navarre in spoiling the kingdom of Spain.

much alarmed him and his companions. They were so strictly watched that a bird could not escape from the castle without being noticed.

Don Pedro was in great anguish of heart at seeing himself thus surrounded by his enemies, well knowing that they would not enter into any treaty of peace or agreement with him; so that considering his dangerous situation, and the great want of provision in the castle, he was advised to attempt an escape with his eleven companions about midnight, and to put himself under the protection of God: he was offered guides that would conduct him to a place of safety.

They remained in the castle, with this determination, until midnight, when don Pedro, accompanied by don Fernando de Castro and others of the eleven companions, set out. It was very dark. At this hour the bague de Villaines had the command of the watch, with upwards of three hundred men.

Don Pedro had quitted the castle with his companions, and was descending by an upper path, but so quietly that it did not appear as if any one was moving: however, the bague de Villaines, who had many suspicious, and was afraid of losing the object of his watch, imagined he heard the sound of horses' feet upon the causeway: he therefore said to those near him: 'Gentlemen, keep quiet: make no movement: for I hear the steps of some people. We must know who they are, and what they seek at such an hour. I suspect they are victuallers, who bringing provision to the castle; for I know

it

it is in this respect very scantily provided.' The bègue then advanced, his dagger on his wrist, towards a man who was close to don Pedro, and demanded, 'Who art thou? Speak, or thou art a dead man.' The man to whom the bègue had spoken was an Englishman, and refused to answer: he bent himself over his saddle, and dashed forwards. The bègue suffered him to pass; when addressing himself to don Pedro, and examining him earnestly, he fancied it was the king, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, from his likeness to king Henry his brother, for they very much resembled each other. He demanded from him, in placing his dagger on his breast, 'And you, who are you? Name yourself, and surrender this moment, or you are a dead man.' In thus saying, he caught hold of the bridle of his horse, and would not suffer him to escape as the former had done.

King don Pedro, who saw a large body of men at arms before him, and found that he could not by any means escape, said to the bègue de Villaines, whom he recognised; 'Bègue, bègue, I am don Pedro king of Castille, to whom much wrong has been imputed, through evil counsellors. I surrender myself, and all my people, but twelve in number, as thy prisoners: we place ourselves under thy guard and disposition. I beseech thee, in the name of thy gentility, that thou put me in a place of safety. I will pay for my ransom whatever sum thou shalt please to ask; for, thank God, I have yet a sufficiency to do that; but thou must prevent me from falling into the hands of the bastard.'



nard, he would infallibly have killed him, if the viscount de Rocaberti had not been present, who, seizing don Pedro by the legs, turned him over, by which means king Henry being uppermost, immediately drew a long poignard which he wore in his sash, and plunged it into his body. His attendants entered the tent, and helped to dispatch him. There were slain with him a knight from England called sir Raoul Heline, who had formerly had the surname of the Green Squire, and another esquire of the name of James Roland, because they had put themselves in postures of defence\*.

But no harm was done to don Fernando de Castro, nor to the rest of don Pedro's attendants: they continued, therefore, prisoners to le bègue de Villaines and to sir Lyon de Lakonet.

Thus died don Pedro, king of Castille, who had formerly reigned in great prosperity. Those who

---

*Aubarde vero dixerunt, pro culcitra, vulgo coite de matelas.*  
Froissart quoting the expressions in the text.

*Albardacha.*—Gall. Hallebarde, Vide supra Alabarda.—Du CANGE.

\* 'With this unfortunate monarch there also fell two gallant Englishmen, who were slain for having drawn their swords in his defence when grappling with Henry. These were sir Ralph Holmes and James Rowland. The life of Fernando de Castro was spared, on account of his long attachment and fidelity to his sovereign.

'Don Fernando de Castro, after the death of king Peter, made his escape into Portugal, and afterwards retired to Guienne, where he died. Over his tomb was placed the following inscription: 'AQUI YACE DON FERNANDO PEREZ DE CASTRO, TODA LA FIDELIDAD DE ESPANA.'

*Dillon's Hist. of Peter the Cruel, vol. ii. p. 119.*

had slain him left him three days unburied, which was a pity for the sake of humanity; and the Spaniards made their jokes upon him.

On the morrow, the lord of Montiel came to surrender himself to king Henry, who received him graciously, as well as all those who returned to their allegiance. News was soon spread abroad of the death of don Pedro, to the great joy of his enemies and sorrow of his friends. When the king of Portugal heard in what manner his cousin don Pedro had been slain, he was mightily vexed at it, and swore he would have satisfaction for it. He immediately sent a challenge to king Henry, and made war upon him, remaining master of all the environs of Seville for one whole season. This, however, did not prevent king Henry from following his enterprise: he returned before Toledo, which surrendered to him as soon as it learnt the death of don Pedro: as did all the other parts of the country dependant on the crown of Castille. Even the king of Portugal did not wish to continue the war longer against king Henry: so that there was a treaty of peace concluded between them, by means of the barons and prelates of Spain.

King Henry, therefore, reigned in peace over all Castile. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Olivier de Mauny, and some others from France, Brittany and Arragon, continued with him, to whom king Henry behaved very handsomely: indeed, he was in justice bound so to do, for without their aid he would never have been able to have accomplished this business. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was made constable

stable of Spain, and received the estate of Soria, worth twenty thousand francs a-year. The king gave to his nephew, sir Olivier de Mauny, the estate of Crete, worth ten thousand francs a-year: and so on to the other knights with such liberality that they were all contented. King Henry went to Burgos with his queen and children, to hold his court there, which he did in a princely style\*.

The kings of France and of Arragon, as well as the duke of Anjou who loved him personally, were very much rejoiced at the fortunate event of the war.

About this time died the lord Lionel of England who had crossed the Alps, as has been before related, and had taken for his wife the daughter of the lord Galeas Visconti, sovereign of Milan. But, as his death appeared extraordinary†, the lord Edward Despenfer, his companion, who had remained with

---

\* 'King Henry assembled the states of the realm at Medina d'el Campo, to make arrangements for recompensing the French and other knights. They paid Bertrand du Guesclin one hundred and twenty thousand gold florins. The king also gave Soria, Almazan, Atienza, Montéagudo and Seron, with their dependencies, to sir Bertrand: to Olivier de Mauny, Agreda: Ribadéo, with the title of count, to the Viguer de Villames, whom he married to a lady of the Guzman family: Aquilar de Campo to Geoffry Relor, and Villalpaad to Arnold Solier.'

*Ferreiras Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. v, pp. 414, 415.

† 'Anno Domini 1367, et regni 42 Edwardi, Leonellus dux Clarentiæ obiit in natali S. Mariæ, ut fertur, potionatus.'

*Lelandi Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 251.

'Quo

with him, declared war against Galeas, and flew many of his subjects at different times: at last, how-

---

' Quo annō (1368), mense Aprili, Leonellus dux Clarentie, regis Edwardii tertii filius, cum electa multitudine nobilium Anglicorum transivit versus Mediolanum, an accipiendum in uxorem filiam domini Gallias, domini Mediolani, cum qua medietatem ejusdem domini fuerat habiturus. Sed tamen modico tempore super conjugē vel dominio gaudere permissus est, morte (quæ cuncta disjungit & separat) mox preventus. Celebrato nempe inter eos cum maxima gloria matrimonio, Leonellus, circa festum nativitatis beatæ Mariæ proximo sequentem diem clausit extremum.'

*Tho. Walsingham Hist. Angli. Edw. III. pp. 132. 3.*

' Moreover, at the coming of Leonell, such abundance of treasure was in the most bounteous manner spent, in making of most sumptuous feasts, setting forth stately fights, and honoring with rare gifts above two hundred Englishmen who accompanied his son-in-law, as it seemed to surpass the greatness of the most wealthy princes: for the banquet at which Francis Petrarch was present among the chiefest guests, had about thirty courses of service at the table, and betwixt every course there were as many presents of wondrous price intermixed; all which John Galeasius, chief of the choice youth, bringing to the table, did offer to Leonell. There were in one only course seventy goodly horses, adorned with silk and silver furniture; and in another silver vessels, falcons, hounds, armour for horses, costly coats of mail, breastplates glistering of massy steel, helmets and corselets decked with costly crests, apparelled distinct with costly jewels, soldiers girdles, and lastly certain gems by curious art set in gold, and purple, and cloth of gold for men's apparel in great abundance. And such was the sumptuousness of that banquet that the meats which were brought from table would sufficiently have served ten thousand men. But not long after, Leonell, living with his new wife, whilst after the manner of his own country, as forgetting or not regarding his



however, the earl of Savoy made peace between them. Let us now return to what was going forwards in the duchy of Aquitaine.

---

CHAP. CCXLIV.

KING CHARLES V. IS ADVISED TO DECLARE HIMSELF LORD PARAMOUNT OF GUIENNE AND ACQUITAINE, ON ACCOUNT OF THE HEARTH TAX WHICH THE PRINCE OF WALES WAS ABOUT TO RAISE.—THIS CAUSES A RENEWAL OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

WE have before related how the prince had been advised to raise a hearth tax in his dominions; by which many thought themselves overburdened, especially the Gascons; for those of the low countries of Poitou, Saintonge and la Rochelle had acceded to it with tolerable good humour, as living nearer the residence of their prince, and as being more obedient and more tractably disposed to the ordinances of their lords, more to be depended on, and firmer in their allegiance than those from the more distant parts of the country.

---

his change of air, he addicted himself overmuch to untimely banquettings, spent and consumed with a lingering sickness, died at Alba.

This account from Stow, pp. 267, 268, edition 1631, seems very naturally to account for the death of the duke of Clarence, without supposing it caused by treachery.

For a more particular account of this entertainment, see Corio's History of Milan, printed at Milan 1503.

In

In order to carry these intentions of the prince into effect, several parliaments were held at Niort, Angoulême, Poitiers, Bourdeaux and Bergerac: but the Gascons declared they would never pay this tax, nor suffer it to be laid upon their lands, and asserted, that they had an appeal to the courts of the king of France. This claim of appeal much angered the prince, who answered, that they had no such appeal; for that the king of France had surrendered all right to appeals and jurisdictions, when he had given these territories to his lord and father, as was fully apparent by the treaties of peace; for that the negotiators of this peace had not reserved the slightest article whereby an appeal to the king of France could be made. To this the Gascons replied, that it was not lawful for the king of France, nor in his power, nor had ever been in his power, to free them from appealing to him, without the will of the prelates, barons, cities and principal towns of Gascony, who would never have consented to it, nor ever will consent to it, if it were to be proposed, because it would be the cause of a perpetual warfare with France,

Thus were the prince and the barons of Gascony quarrelling with each other; for either party supported his own opinion, and maintained that it was the right. The earl of Armagnac, the earl of Comminges, the lord d'Albret, the earl of Perigord and several other barons from Gascony, remained quiet at Paris, near the person of the king, and at his leisure moments informed his majesty, that the prince, through pride and presumption, was desirous

firous of trampling them under his feet, and oppressing them with taxes upon their lands which had not been heard of before, and which they would never permit to be levied. They demonstrated to the king, that they had an appeal to him, and demanded that the prince should be summoned before the parliament and the peers, to answer for the grievances and oppressions he intended to lay on them.

The king of France listened with complacency to these lords of Gascony, when they requested from him help and assistance as from their sovereign lord, adding, that should he refuse it to them, they would withdraw their allegiance, and apply to some other court; so that, for fear of losing his claim to this sovereignty, he in the end complied with their request.

He was, however, sensible that this affair must cause a war, which he was desirous not to begin without some appearance of right: besides, his kingdom was not recovered from the effects of the late war, nor from the oppressions of the free companies and other enemies. In addition also to these reasons, his brother the duke of Berry was still a hostage in England; so that he was determined to act with prudence and caution.

About this time, sir Guy de Ligny, earl of St. Pol, had returned to France from England, without permission of the English, by a very ingenious trick. As the full detail of it would take a considerable time, I pass it over. This earl hated the English more than words can express, and took  
much

much pains that the king of France should accede to the request of the Gascon lords; for he was well aware, that if the prince of Wales were summoned to appear before the parliament, it would create a war.

Many prelates, barons, earls and knights of France had united themselves with the earl of St. Pol, and had told the king, that the king of England had not in any way maintained the peace, nor paid any respect to what he had sworn and sealed, according to the tenor of the treaties which had been made at Breigny near Chartres, and afterwards confirmed at Calais; for the English had carried on the war with France in an underhand manner, as much, if not more, since the peace had been made than before. They remonstrated with the king on the subject, adding, that if he would have the articles and treaty of peace read, which had been accepted by the king of England and his eldest son upon their faith and oath, he would find the truth of what they had told him.

Upon this the king of France, to be better informed, and to preserve the rights of his crown, ordered all the papers relative to the last peace, to be brought to the council-chamber, where they were read several times, that the different points and articles might be fully examined. They were very carefully inspected, and among them they found one relating to the territories given up, which the king and his council fixed on with greater attention, because it spoke fully and clearly on the subject they were desirous to discuss. The paper was to this effect:

‘ Edward.

Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all those to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know all, that in the agreement and final peace entered into between our very dear brother the king of France and ourselves, there are two articles of the following tenor: Item, the aforesaid kings shall be found to have all the before-mentioned things confirmed by our holy father the pope; and they shall be strengthened by oaths, sentences and censures of the court of Rome, and by every other bond in the strongest manner possible: and there shall be obtained from the aforesaid court of Rome dispensations, absolutions, and letters in regard to the perfecting and accomplishing this present treaty, which shall be forwarded to the different parties within three weeks at the latest after the king shall be arrived at Calais. Item, in order that the aforesaid things, which have been gone through and treated of, may be more firm and stable, the securities which follow shall be given; that is to say, letters drawn up in the best possible manner by the councils of the two kings, and sealed with the seals of the two kings, and also with the seals of their two eldest sons. The aforesaid kings, their eldest sons, and their children, as well as others of the branches of the royal family, and of the principal nobility of their kingdoms, to the number of twenty, shall swear they will keep, and help to keep as far as in them lies, all these articles which have been made, entered into and agreed upon, and will keep them without doing any thing contrary,

contrary, either by fraud, malice, or by any hindrance whatever. And if there should be any persons in the two before-mentioned kingdoms of France and England who shall be rebellious, and not consenting to the aforesaid treaties, the two aforesaid kings together shall use every exertion of body, fortune and friends, to bring the aforesaid rebels into true obedience, according to the form and tenor of the aforesaid treaty. And withal the two aforesaid kings will submit themselves and their kingdoms to the coercion of our holy father the pope, in order that he may constrain by ecclesiastical censures, or other proper means, him who shall be rebellious, according to what shall be thought reasonable. And among the securities and assurances aforesaid, the two kings shall renounce for themselves and their heirs, upon their faith and oath, all wars and actions of war: and if through disobedience, rebellion or power of some of the subjects of the kingdom of France, or through any other just cause, the king of France, shall not be able to accomplish and fulfil all the things aforesaid, the king of England aforesaid, his heirs and kingdom, or any of them, shall not make war, nor cause war to be made upon the aforesaid king of France, nor upon his heirs nor kingdom; but both together should unite and exert themselves in bringing back the aforesaid rebels to their proper obedience, and to the fulfilling the aforesaid things. And also, if in the aforesaid kingdom, and under the obedience of the king of England, there should be any not willing to surrender and give up those castles,

castles, towns or fortresses which they hold in the kingdom of France, nor to obey the aforesaid treaty: or if, through any just cause, the king of England shall be prevented from accomplishing what is laid down in the aforesaid treaty, neither the king of France, his heirs, nor any one for them, shall make war upon the king of England, nor upon his kingdom; but both of them together will, with all their might, endeavour to regain the aforesaid castles, towns and fortresses, and to bring back such rebels to their proper obedience, so that the perfect fulfilment of the aforesaid treaties may be wrought. And there shall be mutually given on both parts, according to the nature of the act, every sort of security which may be devised, as well by the pope and college of Rome as by others, for the maintaining the peace and other articles of the treaty. For which reasons, wishing to preserve and cherish a perpetual peace and love between us and our aforesaid brother and kingdom of France, we have renounced, and by these presents do renounce, all war and offensive acts against our brother aforesaid, his heirs and successors, the kingdom of France, and his subjects. And we promise and swear, and have promised and sworn upon the body of JESUS CHRIST, for ourselves and successors, that we will not do, nor suffer to be done, any act or word against this renunciation, nor against any thing contained in these aforesaid articles. And if we should do or suffer to be done any thing to the contrary, which God forbid, we are willing to be reputed false, wicked and perjured, and to incur such

blame and infamy as a consecrated and crowned king ought to incur in similar cases. We renounce all idea of importuning any dispensation or absolution from the pope from our oath aforesaid; and if obtained, we declare it to be null and of no weight, and that no advantage whatever ought to be made of it. In order more fully to strengthen the aforesaid declarations, we submit ourselves, our heirs and successors, to the jurisdiction and coercion of the church of Rome, and will and consent that our holy father the pope confirm all these things by ordering monitory and general mandates for the accomplishment of them, against us, our heirs and successors, and against our subjects, (whether commonalties, universities, colleges or private persons of whatever description,) and by granting sentences of excommunication, suspension or interdict, to be incurred by us or by them, as soon as we or they shall attempt or do any thing contrary to these articles, by occupying towns, castles, fortresses, or any other act, by giving comfort, aid, advice or assistance, that may in any way infringe upon the true meaning of this treaty.

‘ We have caused our very dear eldest son, Edward Prince of Wales, to swear to the aforesaid articles, in like manner as ourself; and also our younger sons, Lionel earl of Ulster, John earl of Richmond and Edmund of Langley; and also our dear cousin Philip de Navarre, the dukes of Lancaster and Brittany, the earls of Stamford and Salisbury, the lord of Manny, the capital de Buch, the lord de Montfort, lord James Audley, sir Roger Beau-



Beauchamp, sir John Chandos, lord Ralph Ferrers, lord Edward de Spenser, sir William and sir Thomas Felton, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Franque van Halle, sir John Moubray, sir Bartholomew Burghersh, sir Henry Percy, and several other knights. And we will have the aforesaid articles in like manner sworn to, as soon as we well can, by our other children, and by the greater part of our prelates, churchmen, earls, barons and other nobles of our realm. In witness whereof, we have affixed our seal to these presents, given in our town of Calais, the 24th day of October, in the year of grace 1360\*.

Among other letters which had been drawn up, as well at Bretigny near Chartres as at Calais, during king John's residence there, was the above letter, now under examination of king Charles, his eldest son, and the principal persons of his council. After it had been maturely considered by the prelates and barons of France who had been summoned to this council, they told the king, that neither the king of England nor the prince of Wales had kept or fulfilled the articles of the treaty of Bretigny; but, on the contrary, had taken possession of castles and towns by force, and had remained in the aforesaid kingdom of France, to its great loss: where they had pillaged and ransomed its subjects, by which means, the payment for the redemption of the late king John was still part in arrear: that upon this, and upon other points, the king of France and his

---

\* See this and other treaties, in the *Fœdera*, relative to the peace of Bretigny.

subjects had good right and just cause to break the peace, to make war upon the English, and deprive them of the possessions they had on this side the sea.

The king was also secretly advised, after much deliberation, in such words as these: 'Dear sire, undertake with courage this war: you have a very good cause to induce you to do so: and know, that as soon as you shall have determined upon it, you will find that many in the duchy of Aquitaine will turn to your side; such as prelates, barons, earls, knights, squires, and citizens of the principal towns; for as the prince proceeds in levying this hearth tax, in the same proportion will hatred and ill-will follow from all ranks, as they will be very miserable should he succeed in his attempt. As for those of Poitou, Saintonge, Rouergue, Quercy, and la Rochelle, from their nature they cannot love the English, who, in their turn, being proud and presumptuous, have not any affection for them, nor ever had. Add to this, that the officers of the prince are such extortioners, as to lay their hands on whatever they can find, and levy such heavy taxes, under the name of the prince, that they leave nothing to the subject: besides, the gentlemen of the country cannot obtain any offices, for they are all seized on by the English knights attached to the prince.'

By these arguments, the king of France was determined to declare war; and the duke of Anjou, who at that time was at Toulouse, took great pains to bring it about; for he was very desirous that the war should be renewed with the English, as he was  
one

one who could not love them for some affronts they had put upon him in former times\*.

On the other hand, the Gascons frequently said to the king of France; 'Dear sire, we insist that we have an appeal to your court, (and therefore supplicate you to do us justice, as being the most upright prince in the world,) in regard to the great injuries and extortions which the prince of Wales and his people want to impose upon us. Should you refuse, however, to do us right, we will seek for it in other courts, and we will place ourselves under that lord who will exert himself to preserve our rights; by which means you may lose the principality.'

The king of France, who very unwillingly would have suffered this loss, for it would have been of the greatest prejudice to his kingdom, made a courteous reply; 'that never, for want of law or advice should they apply to any other court than his own; but it was proper such affairs should be treated with much deliberation and prudence.'

In this manner, he kept them in expectation for one year, detaining them privately at Paris; where, besides paying all their expenses, he made them handsome presents and gave them rich jewels. He, however, inquired secretly, whether, in case the peace should be broken, and war with the English recommence, they would support him: they replied, that he ought not be alarmed, nor prevent-

---

\* Very probably for having escaped dishonorably from England, where he was an hostage for his father king John,

ed from carrying on the war in their country, as they were sufficiently able to make head against the prince, and the force he could employ.

The king, at the same time, sounded those of Abbeville, if they would return to their allegiance, and become good Frenchmen: they desired nothing more earnestly than to do so, for much did they hate the English. Thus did the king of France acquire friends on all sides: otherwise, he would not have dared to act as he did. At this time was born Charles of France, eldest son to the king of France, in the year of grace, 1368, which gave great joy to the kingdom. Before this time, had been born Charles d'Albret. The birth of these two children, who were cousins german, was highly pleasing to the whole realm, but particularly to the king of France.

---

CHAP. CCXLV.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS A SUMMONS TO THE PRINCE OF WALES, TO APPEAR IN THE CHAMBER OF PEERS AT PARIS, IN THE MATTER OF AN APPEAL FROM THE BARONS OF GASCONY.

THE king of France was so strongly advised by his council, and so strenuously entreated by the Gascons, that an appeal was drawn up, and sent to Aquitaine, to summon the prince of Wales to appear before the parliament of Paris. It was in the names of the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earls of Perigord and of Comminges, the viscount

count of Carmaing, the lords de la Barde and de Pincornet, who were the principal appellants.

In this appeal, the said Gascons complained of certain oppressive grievances which the prince of Wales and of Aquitaine was about to inflict on them and their vassals; and that the said Gascons appealed to and claimed the jurisdiction of the king of France, whom, as a matter of right, they had chosen for their judge.

When this appeal from the said barons and lords of Gascony had been well drawn out, and reduced to writing, after different corrections in the best possible manner by the wisest of the French council, and after it had been very fully considered, they resolved that it should be signified to the prince of Wales, that they summoned him to appear in person, in the chamber of peers at Paris, to answer the complaints made against him and attend the judgment: to which effect, orders were given to an eloquent lawyer, that the business might be more properly done, and a very noble knight of Beauce, called Caponnel de Caponnel.

These two commissioners left Paris with their attendants, taking the road towards Bourdeaux. They passed through Berry, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, and came to Blaye, where they crossed the Garonne: from thence they went to Bourdeaux, where the prince and princess at that time resided, more than at any other place. These commissioners declared wherever they passed, that they were come by orders of the king of France; by which means, they were in all places well received.

When they entered the city of Bourdeaux, they took up their quarters at an inn (for it was late, about the hour of vespers), and remained there all that night. On the following day, at a proper hour, they went to the abbey of St. Andrew, where the prince of Wales kept his court.

The knights and squires of the prince received them kindly, out of respect to the king of France, by whom they said they were sent. The prince of Wales was soon informed of their arrival, and ordered them to be brought to him. When they came into his presence, they bowed very low, and saluted him with great respect (as was on every account his due, and they well knew how to pay it), and then gave him their credential letters. The prince took them, and, after having read every word, said, ‘ You are welcome : now communicate all that you have to say to us.’ ‘ Respected sir,’ said the lawyer, ‘ here are letters which were given to us by our honoured lord the king of France ; which letters we engaged on our Faith to publish in your presence, for they nearly relate to you.’ The prince upon this changed colour, from his great difficulty to conjecture what they could relate to : the barons and knights who were with him were equally astonished : but he restrained himself, and added, ‘ Speak, speak : all good news we will cheerfully hear.’ The lawyer then opened the letter, and read, word for word, the contents of it, which were ;

‘ Charles, by the grace of God, king of France,  
to our nephew the prince of Wales and Aquitaine,  
health.

health. Whereas several prelates, barons, knights, universities, fraternities and colleges of the country and district of Gascony, residing and inhabiting upon the borders of our realm, together with many others from the country and duchy of Aquitaine, have come before us in our court, to claim justice for certain grievances and unjust oppressions which you, through weak counsel and foolish advice, have been induced to do them, and at which we are much astonished. Therefore, in order to obviate and remedy such things, we do take cognizance of their cause, inasmuch that we of our royal majesty and sovereignty, order and command you to appear in our city of Paris in person, and that you shew and present yourself before us, in our chamber of peers, to hear judgment pronounced upon the aforesaid complaints and grievances done by you to your subjects, who claim to be heard, and to have the jurisdiction of our court. Let there be no delay in obeying this summons, but set out as speedily as possible after having heard this order read. In witness whereof, we have affixed our seal to these presents. Given at Paris, the 25th day of January, 1369.'

## CHAP. CCXLVI.

THE PRINCE OF WALES IMPRISONS THE COMMISSIONERS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE WHO HAD BROUGHT HIM THE SUMMONS OF APPEAL FROM THE LORDS OF GASCONY TO THE COURT OF FRANCE.

**W**HEN the prince of Wales had heard this letter read, he was more astonished than before. He shook his head; and after having eyed the said Frenchmen, and considered awhile, he replied as follows: ‘ We shall willingly attend on the appointed day at Paris, since the king of France sends for us; but it will be with our helmet on our head, and accompanied by sixty thousand men.’ The two Frenchmen, upon this, fell on their knees, saying; ‘ Dear sir, have mercy, for God’s sake: do not bear this appeal with too much anger nor indignation. We are but messengers sent by our lord the king of France, to whom we owe all obedience (as your subjects in like manner do to you), and to whom it is proper we should pay it: therefore, whatever answer you shall wish to charge us with, we will very willingly report it to our lord.’ ‘ Oh no,’ replied the prince, ‘ I am not in the least angry with you, but with those who sent you hither. Your king has been ill-advised, thus to take the part of our subjects, and to wish to make himself judge of what he has nothing to do with, nor any right to interfere in. It shall be very clearly demonstrated to him, that when he gave possession and seisin of the whole duchy of Aquitaine to our lord and father,



father, or to his commissaries, he surrendered also all jurisdiction over it; and all those who have now appealed against us, have no other court to apply to but that of England, and to our lord and father. It shall cost a hundred thousand lives, before it shall be otherwise.'

On saying this, the prince quitted them, and entered another apartment, leaving them quite thunderstruck.

Some English knights came to them, and said; 'My lords, you must go from hence, and return to your hôtel: you have well executed the business you came here upon, but you will not have any other answer to it than what you have just heard.'

The knight and lawyer returned to their inn, where having dined, they soon after packed up their baggage, and mounting their horses, set out from Bourdeaux, taking the road to Toulouse, to relate to the duke of Anjou what they had done.

The prince of Wales was much cast down by this appeal which had been made against him. His knights and barons were not in better spirits: they wished, and even advised the prince to kill the two messengers, as a salary for their pains; but the prince forbade it to be done. His thoughts, however, were ill-inclined to them: when he heard they were set out, and had taken the road towards Toulouse, he called sir Thomas Felton\*, the high steward of Rouergue, sir Thomas de

---

\* Barnes says, sir Thomas Felton was sénéchal of Aquitaine, and sir Thomas Wake sénéchal of Rouergue.

Pontchardon, sir Thomas Percy, his chancellor the bishop of Rodez, and several others of his principal barons; of whom he asked, 'Have these Frenchmen that are gone away any passports from me?' They answered, that they had heard nothing about it. 'No,' replied the prince, shaking his head: 'it is not right that they should so easily leave our country, and go to relate their prattle to the duke of Anjou, who loves us little, and say how they have summoned us personally in our own palace. They are, upon due consideration, messengers from my vassals, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earls of Perigord, Comminges and of Carmaing, rather than from the king of France; so that, for the vexation they have given us, we consent they should be detained and thrown into prison.' The council of the prince were well pleased on hearing this, as it was before their advice, and said it had been but too long delayed.

The high steward of Agénois was charged with this commission: his name was sir William le Moine, a very gallant and noble knight of England: who immediately mounted his horse with his attendants, and left Bourdeaux. He made such haste, in pursuing these Frenchmen, that he overtook them before they had passed the district of Agénois. Upon coming up with them, he arrested them under title of his office, and found another pretence for so doing without compromising the prince, whose name he never mentioned, but said, their host of the preceding evening had complained to him that they had taken one of his horses in  
mistake

mistake from his inn. The knight and lawyer were astonished on hearing this, and endeavoured to excuse themselves, but in vain, for they could not obtain their liberty. They were conducted to the city of Agen, and put in the prison of the castle. The English suffered some of their attendants to return to France, who, passing through Toulouse, related to the duke of Anjou every thing as it had happened. The duke was not much displeased thereat; for he thought it would be the beginning of the war, and prepared to take his measures accordingly.

News of the imprisonment of his commissioners was soon carried to the king of France; for their servants, being returned to court, told all they had seen and heard from their masters, in regard to the state, government and countenance of the prince of Wales; which, coming to the ears of the king, inflamed his anger: he was greatly vexed, and thought much upon it, as well as on the words of the prince, on receiving this appeal, namely, that he would attend the appeal in person, with his helmet on his head, accompanied by sixty thousand men. This haughty and proud answer occupied the mind of the king of France: he therefore, most prudently and wisely, began to make preparations for supporting the weight of this ensuing war; for in truth it was likely to be very heavy as well as hazardous, and to draw upon him the whole force of the king of England, against whom his predecessors had laboured so much in former times, as has been related in this history. But he was  
strongly

strongly solicited by the great lords of Guyenne on the other hand, who demonstrated to him the extortions of the English, and the great losses which this might in future occasion to him, the truth of which he well knew. What appeared to affect him the most, in beginning this war, was his consideration for the destruction of his poor people, which might continue for a long time, and the dangers and opprobrium which his nobles had suffered from the last war.

---

CHAP. CCXLVI

THE DUKE OF BERRY AND SEVERAL MORE LORDS,  
WHO HAD BEEN HOSTAGES IN ENGLAND, RETURN  
TO FRANCE.

**T**HE king of France and his council, not regarding the haughty answer from the prince of Wales, made every preparation which might be necessary for the grand event about to take place.

At this period, the lord John of France, duke of Berry, had returned home, through the favour of the king of England, who had granted him permission to remain a year in France. He acted so prudently, and made so many different excuses, that he never went back ; for the war speedily broke out, as you will hear related.

Sir John de Harcourt had also returned to his own country, where his estates had been granted him, through the solicitations of sir Louis de Harcourt his uncle, who was from Poitou, and at the ~~time~~  
time

time one of the prince's knights. Sir John de Harcourt fell sick, which happened to him very opportunely: for it lasted until the renewal of the war, so that he never again returned to England.

Sir Guy de Blois, who at that time was a young squire, and brother to the earl of Blois, obtained his liberty also; for when he perceived that the king of France, for whom he was hostage, had not thought of ransoming him, he made overtures to the lord de Coucy, who had married one of the king's daughters, and who had a very great revenue in right of his wife, assigned to him on the king's treasury. This treaty advanced so well between the king, his son-in-law, and Sir Guy, that the latter, with the permission of his two brothers Louis and John, and with the consent of the king of France, gave up wholly and absolutely into the hands of the king of England, the county of Soissons; which county the king of England gave again, and presented to the lord de Coucy, who released it for four thousand livres a-year annual rent. Thus were these agreements and covenants finished.

The earl Peter d'Alençon had, through the good will of the king of England, returned also to France, where he remained so long, and made so many excuses, that he never went back to resume his duty as hostage: but, I believe, at last he paid thirty thousand francs, to acquit his faith and oath.

Before this time, a fortunate circumstance happened to duke Louis de Bourbon, who was one of the hostages in England. By favor of the king of England, he had returned to France; and while he

was at Paris with his brother-in-law king Charles, it chanced that the bishop of Winchester, chancellor of England, died. There was at that time a priest in England of the name of William of Wykeham: this William was so high in the king's grace that nothing was done, in any respect whatever, without his advice. When the chancellorship and bishoprick thus became vacant, the king of England immediately wrote to the duke of Bourbon, at the request and prayer of the said William, to beg of him, through the affection he had for him, to go to the holy father Urban, and prevail on him to grant the vacant bishoprick of Winchester to his chaplain; and that, in return, he would be very courteous to him as to his ransom.

When the duke of Bourbon received the messengers with the letters from the king of England, he was much pleased, and explained to the king of France what the king of England and sir William wanted him to do. The king advised him to go to the pope. The duke therefore, with his attendants, immediately set out and travelled until they came to Avignon, where pope Urban resided, for he had not as yet set out for Rome. The duke made his request to the holy father, who directly granted it, and gave to him the bishoprick of Winchester, to dispose of it as he should please; and if he found the king of England courteous and liberal as to his ransom, he was very willing that Wykeham should have this bishoprick.

The duke upon this returned to France, and afterwards to England, where he entered into a  
treaty

treaty with the king and his council for his ransom, shewing at the same time his bulls from the pope. The king, who loved Wykeham very much, did whatever he desired. The duke had his liberty, on paying twenty thousand francs; and sir\* William Wykeham was made bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England.

In this manner, the French lords who were hostages in England obtained their liberty. We will now return to the war in Gascony, which first broke out on account of the appeal that has been already spoken of.

---

\* ' The custom of prefixing the addition of Sir to the Christian name of a clergyman was formerly usual in this country. Fuller, in his church-history, book vi. enumerates seven chauntries, part of a much larger number, in the old cathedral of St. Paul, in the time of king Edward VI. with the names of the then incumbents, most of whom had the addition of sir; upon which he remarks, and gives this reason why there were formerly more sirs than knights: such priests as have the addition of sir before their Christian names were men not graduated in the university, being in orders, but not in degrees; whilst others, entitled Masters, had commenced in the arts. This ancient usage is alluded to in the following humorous catch:

' Now I am married, Sir John I'll not curse:  
He join'd us together for better for worse.  
But if I were single, I do tell you plain,  
I'd be well advis'd, ere I married again.'

*Sir John Hawkins's Hist. of Music, vol. ii. p. 518.*

## CHAP. CCXLVIII.

THE EARL OF PERIGORD\*, THE VISCOUNT OF  
CARMAING AND OTHER BARONS OF GASCONY,  
DEFEAT THE HIGH STEWARD OF ROUERGUE.

**Y**OU have heard how much the prince of Wales was offended by the summons which had been served on him to appear at the court of the parliament in Paris. It was fully his intention to perform the answer he had given to the commissioners from the king, namely, that in the course of the summer he would come and take his seat, and personally appear at the feast of the lenditt†. He therefore sent orders to those captains of English and Gascon companies who were attached to him, and in quar-

\* The earls of Carmaing have since taken the name of Foix, by an alliance with an heiress of this name, who brought to them the county of Foix, in the fourteenth century.

The earls of Perigord bear to this day the same name; they are likewise known under those of prince of Chalais, earls of Perigord, or earls of Taleyras, which is the primitive name of their house. M. de Taleyras de Perigord was bishop of Autun, of which office he divested himself, when, in the course of the revolutionary furor, episcopacy became unpopular, and is now minister for foreign affairs to the republic of France, 1803.

† Lendit,—a great fair kept (in a field near St. Denis) from the second Wednesday in June until Midsummer eve—whence

Lendits,—gate-money, fairings, or yearly presents bestowed by the scholars of the university, especially those of Paris, on their tutors.—COTGRAVE.

ters



ters upon the banks of the Loire, not to march to any great distance from that river, for he should shortly have occasion for them, and would find them employment. The greater part of these companies were much rejoiced at the news.

The prince would not have failed in his intentions, but that his illness and the swelling daily increased (which had been caused by his expedition into Spain): so that his attendants were very much alarmed at it, for he could not at this moment mount his horse.

The king of France had received accurate information of all this, and had been furnished with the statement of his case drawn up in writing; from which the physicians and surgeons of France judged that he had a confirmed dropsy, and declared him unable ever to recover.

As soon as the capture of sir Caponnel de Caponnel and the man of law was publicly known, who, as it has been before said, were arrested by sir William le Moine, and carried prisoners to Agen, the earl of Comminges, the earl of Perigord, the viscount of Carmaing, sir Bertrand Taude, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Pincornet, and many more knights and squires who resided on their estates and lordships, were very much offended at this measure; since for them, and upon their account, had they undertaken this commission. They determined to have revenge for this violence, and to begin the war in their own country, by making prisoners some of those attached to the party of the prince. They had information that sir Thomas Wake was

on his rode to Rhodéz, to examine the strength of the castle; that he was at Villeneuve d'Agénois, from whence he was to be escorted by only sixty lances.

When these knights heard this news, they were in high spirits, and resolved to lay an ambuscade for sir Thomas, consisting of three hundred lances; so that about two leagues from Montauban, as the high steward was continuing his route with sixty lances and two hundred archers, they were attacked by this large ambuscade of Gascons. The English were very much surprised: for they, not suspecting such an attack, were quite unprepared for it: however, they began to exert themselves stoutly in self-defence; but the Gascons, who had formed their plan at leisure, were too many for them, and at the first shock numbers were dismounted: the English, not being able to resist the violence of the Gascons of Perigord, Comminges and Carmaing, were thrown into disorder, and, being defeated without much resistance, turned their backs. Many were taken and slain. Sir Thomas was obliged himself to fly, otherwise he would have been made prisoner; and he owed his safety to the fleetness of his horse, which carried him to Montauban. The Gascons and others returned to their own country, carrying with them their prisoners and booty.

News was very soon brought to the prince of Wales, who at that time resided at Angoulême, how his high steward of Rouergue had been defeated by the earl of Perigord, and by those other noblemen who had summoned him by appeal to

the

the chamber of peers at Paris. Much enraged was the prince, when it was told him: he said, he would have a severe and early revenge for this, upon the persons and lordships where this outrage had been committed. He wrote directly to sir John Chandos, who had retired to his estate at St. Sauveur le Vicomte in Coutantin, ordering him to come to him, without delay, as soon as he should have received his letter.

Sir John Chandos, desirous of obeying the prince, made all possible haste, and came to Angoulême to the prince, who received him with great joy. Soon after, the prince sent him to Montauban, with a large body of men at arms and archers, to make war upon the Gascons and French, who were every day increasing in numbers, making incursions upon the territories of the prince.

Sir Thomas Wake collected his scattered men as well as he could, and went to Rhodéz, which he amply reinforced and re-victualled, as well as the castle of Milhaud upon the confines of Montpellier; and in every place he put men at arms and archers.

Sir John Chandos made the town of Montauban his head-quarters, and gallantly defended the frontiers against the Gascons and French, with the other knights whom the prince of Wales had sent thither; such as, the capital de Buch, the two brothers de Pommiers, sir John and sir Helie, the souldich de l'Estrade, the lord of Partenay, the lord of Pons, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lord de Pinaine, the lord de Tannaybouton and sir Richard de

Pontchardon. These knights, with their companies, made frequent attacks upon the forces of the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earls of Perigord and Comminges, the viscounts of Carmaing and of Tharide, the lord de la Barde, and several other barons and knights of the same connection, who, with their companies, were upon this frontier. Sometimes one side was victorious, sometimes the other, as in war such things commonly happen.

The duke of Anjou remained very quiet, and made not the smallest movement, notwithstanding the rumours he heard; for the king of France had strictly ordered him not to make war upon the prince of Wales, nor on his subjects, until he should receive from him positive orders for so doing.

---

#### CHAP. CCXLIX.

THE KING OF FRANCE GAINS OVER SEVERAL CAPTAINS OF THE FREE COMPANIES.—HE SENDS HIS DEFIANCE TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

THE king of France, all this time was secretly and ably gaining over several of the captains of the free companies, and others attached to the party of the English, who had ascended the river Loire, and were on the confines of Berry and Auvergne, where the king of France had given his permission for them to reside. Not one of the companies of France was in motion; for the king did not wish that

that his name should yet be made use of in this war, lest it might do his affairs harm, and lest he should lose the county of Ponthieu, which he was very anxious to regain.

Had the king of England perceived that the king of France intended war, he would easily have prevented the loss of Ponthieu by reinforcing the garrisons of Abbeville with English, and others attached to him; so that he would have been master of the whole country; and in the like manner would he have done to all the other garrisons dependant on that county.

The king of England had at this time, for high steward of Ponthieu, a good English knight called sir Nicholas Louvain, in whom the king had great confidence, and with justice; for, sooner than commit any cowardly or unworthy deed, he would have had his limbs torn from him.

At this period, the king of France sent to England the earl of Saltzburg and sir William des Dormans, to remonstrate with the king and his council, and to complain that part of the country of France had been, and still was, much harassed, as well by the daily incursions of the free companies, who had for these last six years made war upon France, as by other oppressors, of which the king of France and his council had had information, and were very ill satisfied that the king of England and his eldest son the prince of Wales should act in such a manner as to countenance them.

These two personages remained in England for the space of two months: and during this time,

they proposed various agreements and reasons to the king, which made him frequently out of humour and in a passion; but they did not pay much attention to this, for they had received instructions from the king of France and his council how to act and what to say.

When the king of France had received such information as he could depend on, that the inhabitants of Abbeville were in their hearts Frenchmen; that the war was begun in Gascony; that all the men at arms in the kingdom of France were prepared, and eager to wage war upon the prince of Wales and to enter his territories; he was anxious that no reproach might be cast on him, either at the present moment, or in times to come, for having ordered an army into the territories of the king of England, or the prince of Wales, to take cities, castles, towns or fortresses, without having sent them a challenge: he therefore resolved to defy the king of England; which he did by sealed letters. One of his valets, who was from Brittany, carried them. He met at Dover the earl of Saltzburg and sir William des Dormans, who were returning from England to France, having accomplished the business they had been sent on. The Breton, according to the orders he had received, told them what he was going about; which they no sooner heard than they set off as quickly as possible, and crossed the sea. They were very happy when they found themselves in the town and fortress of Boulogne.

About



About this time, sir Guiscard d'Angle, marshal of Aquitaine, had been sent by the prince of Wales to pope Urban V. at Rome, on affairs relating to Aquitaine. He had found the pope very polite in complying with the requests he had to make to him. On his return, he first heard the news of war being made on the prince, and that the French had entered the principality. He was very much surprised at this, and dubious how he should be able to continue his journey. He went, however, to the gallant earl of Savoy, whom he found at the town of Pignerol, in Piedmont, engaged in war with the marquis de Saluces.

The earl of Savoy received sir Guiscard and his company with great pleasure: he entertained them for two days with much magnificence, and presented them with handsome gifts, particularly sir Guiscard, who had the larger share: for the gallant earl respected him greatly, on account of his hardy knighthood.

When sir Guiscard and his companions had left the earl of Savoy, the nearer they approached the boundaries of France and Burgundy the worse news they heard, and more disagreeable to their feelings. Sir Guiscard having well considered all the information he could gain, saw that it would be impossible for him to return to Guyenne in the state he travelled. He therefore delayed as much as he could, and gave the command of his whole array and attendants to a knight called sir John Shore, who had married his daughter. Sir John came from Brittany, and spoke very good French: he  
took

took the command of all the attendants and baggage of his father-in-law: when coming to the estate of the lord of Beaujeu, he crossed the river Soane, and became so well acquainted with the lord of Beaujeu that he conducted him and his whole company to Rion in Auvergne, to the duke of Berry: he there offered to become a true Frenchman, provided he were suffered to return peaceably to his house in Brittany, as it had before been settled between him and the lord of Beaujeu.

In the mean time, sir Guiscard, under the disguise of a poor chaplain, ill mounted and badly equipped, passed through France, Burgundy and Auvergne, and with great difficulty entered the principality. On his arrival at Angoulême, he was heartily received by the prince of Wales.

Another knight, whose name was sir William de Sens, who had accompanied him on this embassy to Rome, took refuge in the abbey of Clugny in Burgundy, from whence he never stirred for five years, and at last turned Frenchman.

We will now return to the Breton who was the bearer of the challenge from Charles king of France to Edward king of England.



## CHAP. CCL.

CHALLENGES FROM FRANCE ARE DELIVERED TO  
THE KING OF ENGLAND.—THE EARL DE ST. POL  
AND THE LORD DE CHATILLON CONQUER THE  
COUNTY OF PONTIEU.

**T**HE valet before mentioned made haste to London, as he had heard the king of England and his council were assembled at the palace of Westminster. The king had for some time held various councils upon the state of the prince's affairs, who was at war with the barons and knights of Gascony, to examine into the best means of assisting him, and to consider whom he should send from England to the prince's aid. He soon heard other news, which troubled him more than before; for the valet who was the bearer of these letters managed so as to enter the chamber where the king and his council were sitting. He said he was a valet belonging to the household of the king of France, and had been sent by that king with letters addressed to the king of England, but was ignorant what were their contents, nor did it belong to him to know. He presented them on his knees to the king; who, being desirous to know what might be their subject, ordered them to be taken, opened, and read. The king and all those with him were much surprised when they had heard the challenge they contained.

They examined them very carefully every way, as well as the seal, and clearly saw that the challenge was good. They ordered the valet to withdraw, telling him he had done his business well, and that  
he

he might boldly set out on his return, for he would not meet with any obstacle to his doing so, as indeed he did not: he therefore went back to France as speedily as possible.

The earl dauphin of Auvergne, the earl of Porcien, the lord de Maulevrier, and several others at this time in England, as hostages for the king of France, were in the greatest anxiety on hearing the above intelligence; for they were doubtful of the intentions of the king of England and his council, and what they meant to do to them.

It is proper to be known that the king and his council were greatly offended that this challenge should have been brought by a valet: they said it was not decent that a war between two such great lords as the kings of France and of England should be announced and declared by a common servant; that it would not have been unworthy of a prelate, or of a valiant baron or knight, to have been the bearer of such a declaration: however, nothing more was done.

In this council, the king was advised to send directly reinforcements of men at arms to Ponthieu, to guard that country, more particularly to Abbeville, which ran much risk of being taken. The king approved of this, and ordered the lord Percy, the lord Neville, the lord Carbestone\* and sir William Windfor on this business, with three hundred men at arms and one thousand archers.

---

\* Barnes says, lord Henry Percy, lord William Neville and lord William Windfor, and one lord more, but does not name him.

While

While these lords were making their preparations, and were already as far advanced on their road as Dover, to cross the sea, other news was brought which did not please them much. For as soon as the earl Guy de St. Pol and sir Hugh de Châtillon, who was at that time master of the cross-bows of France, could suppose that the king of England had received the defiance, they advanced towards Ponthieu, having before sent privately their summons to the knights and squires of Hainault, Artois, Cambresis, Vermandois, Vimeu and Picardy; so that their whole force amounted to not less than a hundred and twenty lances, with which they appeared before Abbeville. The gates were immediately opened, as had before been privately concerted; and these men at arms entered the town without doing any harm to the inhabitants.

Sir Hugh de Châtillon, who was the leader of this expedition, marched to that part of the town where he thought he should find the high steward of Ponthieu, sir Nicholas Louvain, and exerted himself so effectually as to make him his prisoner, as well as a very rich clerk and valiant man who was treasurer of Ponthieu. The French made this day many a good and rich prisoner; for the English lost every thing they had in the town.

On the same day, the French advanced to St. Valery, which they took by storm; they did the same to Crotoy\*, as well as to the town of Derne† upon the sea.

---

\* Crotoy,—a town opposite to St. Valery, on the Somme.

† Derne. No such place. Q. if not Rue, which is a small town on the coast, two miles from St. Valery?

Shortly

Shortly after, the earl of St. Pol went to Pont de St. Remy on the Somme, where some English were collected. The earl ordered them to be attacked. There was a grand skirmish, with many valorous deeds of arms. His eldest son, Galeran, was created a knight, and did honor to his new knighthood. The English were so roughly handled, that they were either slain or made prisoners, and the bridge and fort conquered by the French. In short, the whole territory and county of Ponthieu were freed from the English, so that none remained who could any way do mischief.

News was brought to the king of England, who was at London, how those of Ponthieu had deserted him, and turned to the French. The king was much enraged at this, and at first had intentions of severely retaliating upon those of the hostages who were still in London; but he thought it would be cruel to make them answer for his ill fortune. Nevertheless, he sent all the citizens who had been given as hostages from the cities and principal towns of France, to other towns, castles and forts in his kingdom, and did not allow them the same liberty they had before enjoyed. He ransomed the earl dauphin d'Auvergne for thirty thousand francs, and the earl of Porcien for ten thousand. The lord de Roye, however, remained in prison, in great peril; for, as he was not in any favour at the court of England, he was obliged to endure much ill treatment, until delivered by accident and great good fortune, as you will hear in the continuance of this history.

CHAP.



## CHAP. CCLI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS A LARGE BODY OF  
MEN AT ARMS TO THE BORDERS OF SCOTLAND.  
—THE DUKES OF BERRY AND OF ANJOU ISSUE  
THEIR ORDERS FOR THEIR VASSALS TO ATTACK  
THE PRINCE OF WALES.

**W**HEN the king of England thus saw himself  
defied by the king of France; the county of  
Ponthieu lost, after having cost him such sums in  
the reparation of towns, castles and houses (for he  
had expended one hundred thousand francs in ad-  
dition to the revenues he drew from it); he was in a  
mighty passion. He had, however, more fears of a  
war from Scotland than from France: he knew the  
Scots did not love him, for the great mischiefs he  
had done them in former times.

He therefore sent large detachments of men at  
arms to Berwick, Roxburgh, Newcastle upon Tyne,  
and to the whole border, to guard it. He also  
ordered detachments to Southampton, Guernsey, and  
to the island of Blisso\*; for he had procured in-  
formation that the king of France was making great  
preparations, and collecting a number of ships, in  
order to invade England. He did not know what  
part to guard the most; and, to speak truth, the  
English were very much alarmed.

As soon as the dukes of Berry and of Anjou  
were certain that the challenge had been delivered,

---

\* Blisso, Q. Isle of Wight.

and war declared, being unwilling to remain idle, they issued their special orders; one in Auvergne, the other at Toulouse; for their vassals to enter the principality. The duke of Berry had under his command all the barons of Auvergne, of the bishopricks of Lyons and Mâcon, the lords de Beaujeu, de Villars, de Tournon, sir Godfrey de Boulogne, his brother-in-law sir John d'Armagnac, sir John de Villemur, the lords de Montagu and de Talencon, sir Hugh Dauphin, the lord de Rochefort, and several more. These men at arms immediately advanced to Touraine, and to the borders of Berry, from whence they carried the war into the fine country of Poitou; but they found it well filled with knights and squires, who did not permit them to gain much advantage.

Sir Louis de St. Julian, sir William des Bourdes, and Carnet le Breton, were at that time in garrison in the French castles of Touraine. These three were great captains, brothers in arms: they performed many gallant deeds, and did much harm to the English, as will hereafter be more fully related.

## CHAP. CCLII.

SEVERAL CAPTAINS OF COMPANIES SIDE WITH DIFFERENT PARTIES—THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE AND THE EARL OF PEMBROKE TO THE ASSISTANCE OF HIS SON THE PRINCE OF WALES.—THEY PASS THROUGH BRITANY.

THE duke of Lancaster possessed, as part of his inheritance in Champagne, a castle situated between Troyes and Châlons, called Beaufort; of which an English squire, named the Pourfuiwant d'Amour\*, was the captain. When this squire per-

---

\* Pourfuiwant d'Amour, was a title that knights and squires gave themselves, on account of their wearing the portrait or colours of their mistresses, and challenging each other to fight in honor of their ladies.

Barnes calls him Percival Damorie, but I do not see on what foundation: it seems to me to be a corruption of Pourfuiwant d'Amour.

The duke of Lancaster at this same time lost his castle of Beaufort, between Troyes and Châlons. He had intrusted this place to the guard of Evan of Wales. This Evan was called le Pourfuiwant d'Amour. He was the son of Edmund, the last of the ancient sovereigns of Wales, who had been beheaded by Edward. He had been brought up at the court of Philip de Valois, as page of honor to his chamber, and made his first campaign under king John. At the peace, the duke of Lancaster, who was probably ignorant of his birth, made him governor of his castle of Beaufort. Being naturally an enemy to the English, he eagerly seized this opportunity of revenging himself for the ancient injuries of his house. The king of France accepted his offers of service,

perceived that the war was renewed between the kings of France and England, he turned to the king of France, and swore to him faith and loyalty from this time forth, as a good Frenchman. The king for this enriched him greatly, and left this castle under his care, in conjunction with another squire of Champagne called Yvain.

The poursuivant and Yvain were great friends. They performed many feats of arms against the English, and against their partisans.

The canon de Robesart, who had before been a loyal and good Frenchman, on the renewal of the war turned to the English, and became the liege man of the king of England, who was well satisfied with his services.

In this manner, several knights and squires changed their party. The duke of Anjou had been so active among the free companies of Gascony that sir Perducas d'Albret, le petit Mechin, le bourg de Breteuil, Aimemon d'Ortigue, Petrot de Savoye, Jacquet de Bray and Naudon de Pans, turned Frenchmen; which much displeased the Eng-

---

and gave him the command of some ships, with which he made incursions on the English coasts.'

*Hist. de France, par Villaret, tome v. p. 396.*

There must be some mistake in the preceding account from Villaret, for Wales was finally conquered by Edward I. in 1283, by the defeat of Llewelin, and the disgraceful manner in which Edward murdered his brother David. The surrender of the castle of Beaufort happened nearly one hundred years afterwards, so that Evan could not have been a son of one of our last sovereigns.

lish,



lish, as their forces were greatly weakened by it. Naudon de Bagerant, le bourg de l'Esparre and le bourg Camus, remained steady to the English; as well as the most approved captains among them, such as sir Robert Briquet, Robert Thin, John Trefnelle, Gaillard de Motte, and Aimery de Rochechouart.

These companies of English and Gascons, with their followers, fixed their quarters in the bishoprick of Mans in lower Normandy; where they took a town called Vire\*, and destroyed and ruined all the neighbouring country. Thus these free companies changed their sides; but all of them were engaged for the French or English.

The king of England determined to send his son, Edmund of Langley earl of Cambridge, and his son-in-law, John Hastings earl of Pembroke, to the assistance of the prince of Wales in the duchy of Aquitaine, with the command of a body of men at arms and cross bowmen. He also named such as he thought right to send with them: and in the number were, the lord Braddeston†, sir Bryan Stapleton, sir John Trivet, sir Thomas Banaster and divers others. They embarked as speedily as they could, and put to sea, having with them four hundred men at arms and as many archers. They steered their course for Brittany; and, having a wind to their wish,

---

\* Vire,—a town in Normandy, on the river Vire, diocese of Bayeux.

† In Froissart, it is 'le sire de Tarbestonne,' which I think must be Braddeston. See Dugdale's Baronage.

they landed at the port of St. Malo. When John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, was informed of their arrival, he was much rejoiced, and immediately sent some of his knights to receive and entertain them; namely, sir John de Laigniguay and sir John Augustin. The earls of Cambridge and Pembroke were well pleased on seeing these knights: but they were not perfectly assured if the barons and principal towns of Brittany would permit them to pass through the country, in their way to Poitou. The English lords, therefore, made this their request to the duke and to the country.

The duke, being very partial to the English, complied directly with their wishes, and acted so efficaciously with the barons and principal towns that it was agreed they should pass through the country in a peaceable manner, upon paying for whatever they might have occasion to use: to which terms the English joyfully assented.

The earls of Cambridge and Pembroke prepared to march with their army to join those free companies who were in the province of Maine, at Château Gontier\* and at Vire; where they had destroyed and pillaged the whole country; declaring their intentions to advance farther into the interior of the kingdom.

The Bretons entered into treaty with them; and it was agreed that they should have liberty to pass through that country, by crossing the river Loire at

---

\* Château Gontier,—a town in Anjou, diocese of Angers.

the bridge of Nantes, engaging not to do any mischief on their march.

At this time, sir Hugh Calverley was on the borders of Arragon, with a large body of the free companies, who had lately quitted Spain. As soon as he heard that the French were making war upon the prince, he set off with all the men at arms of the companies, passed through Arragon and Foix, entered Bigorre, and hastened until he came to the prince, who at that time held his court in the city of Angoulême.

When the prince saw him arrive, he gave him a handsome reception, and thanked him much for the assistance he had brought. He prevailed with him to be his guest until the companies which had left Normandy (having first sold those fortresses which they held there) were come; for the Bretons allowed them to pass through their country, provided they behaved themselves well. As soon as they were arrived at Angoulême and in that neighbourhood, the prince appointed sir Hugh Calverley to be their captain. They were in the whole, including those who had come with them from Arragon, two thousand fighting men.

The prince immediately ordered them to march to the estates of the earl of Armagnac and the lord d'Albret, to burn and destroy them. In consequence of this order, they made a very disastrous war, and did great damages.

## CHAP. CCLIII.

THE EARLS OF CAMBRIDGE AND OF PEMBROKE  
ARRIVE AT ANGOULEME.—THE PRINCE SENDS  
THEM TO OVERRUN THE COUNTY OF PERIGORD.  
—SOME ENGLISH ARE DEFEATED NEAR TO LU-  
SIGNAN.

THE earls of Cambridge and Pembroke remain-  
ed at St. Malo with their troops, as has been  
before said, until all the free companies of their  
party had come through the country with the as-  
sent of the duke of Brittany. When they had suf-  
ficiently recruited themselves, and had permission  
to march, they set out from St. Malo, and by easy  
days journeys arrived at Nantes, where the duke  
received these lords most honourably, and kept  
them with him for three days, which were spent in  
magnificent feasts. On the fourth day they crossed  
the great river Loire over the bridge at Nantes, and  
then continued their march until they came to An-  
goulême, where they found the prince and princess.

The prince was much rejoiced at the arrival of  
his brother the earl of Cambridge and the earl of  
Pembroke. He inquired after the healths of the  
king his father, the queen, and his other brothers:  
to which questions he received satisfactory answers.  
After they had remained with him three days, and  
had refreshed themselves, the prince ordered them  
to set out from Angoulême, to make an excursion  
into the county of Perigord.

The two lords and the knights who had come  
with them from England instantly made prepara-  
tions

tions to provide themselves with every thing that might be necessary. Having taken leave of the prince, they marched off in grand array. They were, in the whole, full three thousand combatants : among these were several knights and squires from Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Quercy and Rouergue, whom the prince ordered to accompany them.

These lords and men at arms entered hostilely the county of Perigord, which they overran, and did much mischief to it. When they had burnt and destroyed the greater part, they laid siege to a fortress called Bordeilles\*, of which two squires of Gascony were governors : they were brothers, named Ernaldon and Bernardel de Batefol.

There were in this garrison of Bordeilles, with the two captains, a number of men at arms, whom the earl of Perigord had sent thither. It was also amply provided with artillery, wine, provision and every thing else that might be necessary to hold out for a considerable time ; and those in garrison were well inclined to defend it : so that during the siege of Bordeilles many gallant deeds of arms, many a skirmish and many an assault were daily performed. The two before-mentioned squires were bold, proud and enterprising : they little loved the English, and in consequence advanced frequently to their barriers to skirmish with them. Sometimes one side conquered, sometimes the other, as it happens in such adventures and deeds of arms.

---

\* Bordeilles,—a town in Perigord, diocese of Periguez.

On the other hand, there were full one thousand combatants, French, Burgundians, Bretons, Picards, Normans and Angevins, in Poitou, and on the borders of Anjou and Touraine, who were over-running the lands of the prince of Wales, and daily committing great devastations. The leaders of these men at arms were, sir John de Bueil, sir William de Bourdes, sir Louis de St. Julian and Carnet le Breton.

In order to oppose this force, some knights and squires of the prince, in particular sir Simon Burley and the earl of Angus, were quartered on the borders of Poitou and Saintonge; but they were scarcely a fourth part of the strength of the French.

Whenever the French made any excursions, they amounted always to a thousand fighting men: whereas the English were never more, at the utmost, than two or three hundred; for the prince had sent off three very large detachments,—one to Montauban, of five hundred men at arms, under sir John Chandos, to ravage the lands of the earl d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albret,—another of considerable numbers, under sir Hugh Calverley,—and the largest division under the command of his brother, the earl of Cambridge, before Bordeilles. Notwithstanding this, those who were in Poitou did not fail to acquit themselves gallantly, and to do their duty in making excursions on the lands of France, and in guarding their own. The English, with their partisans, have always acted in this manner, and have never refused nor dreaded the combat because they were not in greater numbers.

It

It happened then one day, that the French had gained exact information how the English had taken the field and were out on an excursion, which gave them such spirits that they collected all their forces, and placed themselves in ambuscade, to fall upon the English as they returned from the inroad which they had made between Mirebeau\* and Lusignan†. It was on a broken causeway that the French, to the amount of five hundred men, commanded by the before-mentioned captains, sir John de Bueil, sir William des Bourdes, sir Louis de St. Julien and Carnet le Breton advanced to attack them. A sharp engagement ensued, when many were unhorsed; for the English defended themselves bravely, and fought gallantly as long as it lasted. Many valourous actions were performed. Sir Simon Burley and the earl of Angus proved themselves good knights: but in the end they had the disadvantage, for they were only a handful of men when compared with the French. They were therefore defeated, and compelled to fly. The earl saved himself as well as he could, and gained the castle of Lusignan; but sir Simon Burley was so closely pursued, and surrounded on the broken causeway near Lusignan, that he was made prisoner by the French: most of his people being killed or taken, for very few escaped.

---

\* Mirebeau,—a town in Poitou.

† Lusignan,—a town in Poitou, seven leagues from Poitiers.

The French returned to their garrisons rejoiced at the issue of this adventure, as was also the king of France when he heard it. Not so the prince of Wales, who was much vexed, and bitterly lamented the capture of his good knight sir Simon Burley, whom he loved well, as indeed he had reason; for, to say the truth, he was a most expert man at arms for his time, very courageous, and had always carried himself valiantly for his lord the king of England and his country. His companions who had been slain or made prisoners on the causeway had behaved equally well; for whose loss the prince was in great sorrow, and much enraged. It is a common saying, that one man is worth a hundred, and that a hundred is not worth one man; for, in truth, it happens sometimes, that by the good conduct and courage of one man, a whole country is preserved, whilst another person may totally ruin and destroy it. Thus things frequently fall out.

---

#### CHAP. CCLIV.

SIR JOHN CHANDOS TAKES TERRIERES.—THE EARL OF PERIGORD AND MANY OTHER KNIGHTS LAY SIEGE TO REALVILLE\* IN QUERCY.

**A**FTER this defeat, which happened, as has been related, between Mirebeau and Lusignan, the English and Poitevins, when they made any excur-

---

\* Réalville, —a town of Quercy, on the river Aveyron, about two leagues from Montauban.



sions, acted with greater prudence and kept more together.

We will now speak of sir John Chandos, sir Guiscard d'Angle\*, and others who were in Montauban, seven leagues distant from Toulouse, and who made frequent sallies from that place very much to their honor. However, whilst they were there, they thought they could employ their time more profitably than in guarding the frontiers, and in consequence determined to lay siege to Terrieres in the Toulousain. They made therefore every necessary preparation, and, marching from Montauban in grand array, came to Terrieres. The whole army being arrived, it was surrounded closely; for they depended on gaining it by means of mines, as it could not easily be taken by assault.

Their miners were set to work, who laboured so well that at the end of fifteen days they took the town; all who were in it were killed, and the place pillaged and destroyed.

In this excursion, they had intended to take another town, three leagues from Toulouse, called Laval, and had placed an ambuscade in a wood near that place. They advanced with about forty men, armed, but dressed in peasants' clothes. They were, however, disappointed by a country boy, who, following their footsteps, discovered their intentions;

---

\* Sir Guiscard d'Angle was created a peer, by the title of earl of Huntingdon, 1st Ric. II. He was also a knight of the Garter, which he received for having been instrumental to the marriage of the duke of Lancaster with a daughter of don Pedro of Castille.

by which means they failed, and returned to Montauban.

The earl of Perigord, the earl de Comminges, the earl de l'Isle, the viscount de Carmaing, the viscount de Brunikel, the viscount de Talar, the viscount de Murendon, the viscount de Laufstre, sir Bertrand de Tharide, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Pincornet, sir Perducas d'Albret, the little Mechin, the bourg de Breteuil, Aimemon d'Ortige, Jacquet de Bray, Perrot de Savoye and Arnaudon de Pans, took the field about this period. There were among these free companies full ten thousand fighting men. By orders from the duke of Anjou, who at that time resided in Toulouse, they entered Quercy in great force, where they brought on much tribulation by burning and destroying the whole country. They advanced to Réalville, wherein they besieged the high steward of Quercy, who had before provided it with every thing necessary for the defence of a town, and with good English foldiers, who had resolved never to surrender but with their lives : notwithstanding the inhabitants were well inclined to the French.

During the time these knights and barons of France were besieging this town, they sent to Toulouse for four great engines, which were immediately brought thither. They were pointed against the walls of Réalville, into which they flung night and day large stones and pieces of timber that did much mischief and weakened it. They had also miners with them, whom they set to work, and who boasted that in a short time they would take the  
town

town. The English, however, behaved like good and brave men, supported each other, and in appearance held these miners very cheap.

---

CHAP. CCLV.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF TOULOUSE TURNS THE CITY OF CAHORS AND SEVERAL OTHER TOWNS TO THE PARTY OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE DUKES OF GUELDRÉS AND OF JULIERS SEND DEFIANCES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

**W**HILST the French men at arms were thus quartering themselves in Quercy, and upon the borders of Limoufin and Auvergne, the duke of Berry was in another part of this last province, where he had a large body of men at arms, under sir John d'Armagnac, his brother-in-law, the lord John de Villemur, Roger de Beaufort, the lord de Beaujeu, the lords de Villars, de Sergnac, de Calencon, sir Griffon de Montagu, sir Hugh Dauphin, and a great many other good knights. They made inroads on the confines of Rouergue, Quercy and Limoufin, and carried ruin and devastation wherever they went, for nothing was able to stand before them.

By the advice of the duke of Berry, the duke of Anjou sent the archbishop of Toulouse from that city, during the time these armies were overrunning the country, to the city of Cahors, of which place his brother was bishop. This archbishop was a very learned clerk, as well as a valiant man. He preach-  
ed

ed up this quarrel of the king of France so earnestly, and so well, that the city of Cahors turned to the French side: and the inhabitants swore that from this time forth they would be loyal and faithful subjects to the king of France. After this, the archbishop continued his journey through the country, preaching every where, with such good success, the rights of the king of France, that all the people of those parts embraced his opinions: and upwards of sixty towns, castles and fortresses were turned to the king of France, with the assistance of the army of the duke of Berry; that is to say, of sir John d'Armagnac and the others who were overrunning the country. He caused also Sigac, Gaignac, Capedonac, and several other principal towns and strong castles to change sides; for he remonstrated and preached, that the king of France had a good and clear right in this quarrel, with such effect, that all who heard him were convinced: besides, naturally in their hearts they were more French than English, which greatly helped this business.

In like manner, as the archbishop went preaching and remonstrating on the justice of the quarrel of the king of France along the confines of Languedoc, there were in Picardy many prelates and lawyers who were as active in doing the same duty, by preaching and converting the people of the cities, large towns and villages. Sir William des Dormans, in particular, distinguished himself by preaching this quarrel of the king of France from city to city, and from town to town, so wisely and ably that all people listened to him willingly; and it was wonder



wonderful how well he coloured the whole business through the kingdom by his harangues.

In addition to this, the king of France, moved by devotion and humility, ordered frequent processions of the whole clergy; when he himself, as well as the queen, attended without stockings, and bare-footed. In this manner, they went praying and supplicating God to listen to them, and to the necessities of the kingdom of France, which had been for so long a time under tribulation. The king ordered all the subjects of his realm to do the same, by the advice of the prelates and churchmen.

The king of England acted in a similar manner in his kingdom. There was at that time a bishop of London\* who made several long and fine sermons: he demonstrated and preached in these sermons, that the king of France had most unjustly renewed the war, and that it was against right and reason, as he plainly shewed in different points and articles. In truth, it was but proper, that both kings, since they were determined on war, should explain and make clear to their subjects the cause of the quarrel, that they might understand it, and have the better will to assist their kings; to which purpose they were all equally alert in the two kingdoms.

The king of England had sent to Brabant and Hainault, to learn if he could have any assistance from either of them, and had frequently, on account of his near connection, requested duke Albert, who at that time governed the country for his

---

\* Dr. Simon Tibald, alias Sudbury.—BARNES.

brother,

brother, to allow him to pass through his territories, or to remain there, if there should be occasion, and to enter through his country, the kingdom of France, to carry the war into the heart of it.

Duke Albert would willingly have complied with the requests of the king of England, his uncle, and of queen Philippa his aunt, through the mediation and advice of lord Edward de Gueldres, who was of the king's party, and also by means of the duke of Juliers his cousin-german, but he had been already gained, as you will hear. These two were in those times strictly connected, by faith and homage, to the king of England, who had desired each of them to engage for him as many as a thousand lances, for which they should be well satisfied. On this account, these two lords would have been very glad to have had duke Albert in alliance with the king of England. The duke was much tempted to join them by the magnificent presents which the king offered to make him; which promises were frequently repeated by these two lords, as well as by other knights whom he sent over to him, and principally by the lord de Comines\*, who chiefly on this account had returned to Hainault, after having resided some time with the king.

But the king of France and his council had gained over the lord John de Verchin, high steward

---

\* Lord de Comines. My MSS. have Gommegines. This passage seems very much confused. Lord Berners says, in his translation, that the lord de Comines was at the French court, and came away to prevent duke Albert joining the king of England.

of Hainault, who governed the whole country. He was a wise man, a valiant knight, and a good Frenchman. This high steward had so much weight, and was so greatly beloved by the duke and duchess, that he overset all the expectations of the English, with the assistance of the earl of Blois, sir John de Blois his brother, the lords de Ligny and de Barbançon, and exerted himself so that duke Albert and the whole country remained neuter, and would not take either side, which was the answer made by the lady Jane duchess of Brabant.

King Charles of France, who was wise and artful, had taken the previous measures, and settled all this business three years\* before. He well knew that he had good friends in Hainault and Brabant, especially among the greater part of the counsellors of the principal noblemen. In order to put a better colour on his war, he had copies made by learned men of different papers relative to the peace, which were signed at Calais; in which he stated all the facts in his favor, and those articles the king of England and his children had sworn to maintain, and to which they had submitted by sealed deeds, with the orders which they ought in consequence to have given to their subjects: in short, all the points and articles which were favourable to him, and condemned the actions of the English. These papers were made public in the town-halls, and in the pre-

---

\* Three years. Denys Sauvage suspects it ought to be three months, but gives no reason for it.

fence of different noblemen and their counsellors, that they might be fully informed on the subject.

On the other hand, the king of England acted in like manner; for he sent memorials and remonstrances through Germany, or wherever he expected to gain assistance. The duke of Gueldres (who was nephew to the king of England, being the son of his sister, and thus cousin-german to the children of the king), and the duke of Juliers were at that time true and loyal Englishmen: they had been very much affronted by the manner of the king of France sending his challenge by a servant, and rebuked the king for it, highly blaming both him and his council for this unbecoming form of sending it. They said, that war between such great and renowned lords as the kings of France and of England should have been declared by proper messengers, such as dignified prelates, bishops or abbots. They added, that the French had not followed this usual mode through pride and presumption. These lords sent their challenge to the king of France in a handsome manner, as did several other knights of Germany. It was their intention immediately to have entered France, and to have done such deeds there as twenty years should not efface: but their schemes were broken by means they did not expect, as you will hereafter find recorded in this history.



## CHAP. CCLVI.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, BROTHER TO KING CHARLES V. MARRIES THE DAUGHTER OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS.—THE KING OF ENGLAND ENTERS INTO NEGOCIATIONS WITH THE KING OF NAVARRE.

IT has been before related how much the king of England solicited and intrigued, during upwards of five years, the marriage of his son, Edmund earl of Cambridge, with the daughter of the earl of Flanders. As the detailed account of the different negotiations would be too long, I shall briefly pass them over: but you must know that the king of England could not by any means whatever obtain from pope Urban V. a dispensation. As this was absolutely necessary the marriage remained in suspense.

The earl of Flanders being solicited, on the other hand, by the king of France, for his brother the duke of Burgundy; and seeing that the marriage not being likely to take place with England, his daughter ought to marry, as he had not any other children; having also learnt that the countess of Artois, his mother, was favourable to the duke of Burgundy's suit, for it was a grand and well-assorted alliance; for these reasons he sent noble ambassadors to England, to treat with the king for an acquittal of his engagements between them.

These ambassadors managed the business so ably that the king of England, who always wished to act honorably, assented to the earl of Flanders' request. They returned, therefore, to Bruges, and related

to the earl their lord what they had done. The earl was much pleased at their success. It was not long before the marriage of the duke of Burgundy with the heiress of Flanders was determined on.

There were great treaties, agreements and alliances made between both parties; and it was then told me, that the earl of Flanders, in consideration of this marriage, received upwards of fifty thousand crowns\*; that the towns of Douay and Lille were given up to him, on account of the money which the king of France was to give his brother on this marriage. The earl of Flanders took possession of these towns, put his own subjects into them, and they were esteemed as part of Flanders, on account of the sums they were pledged for. But I know nothing further.

Soon after these arrangements were concluded, they proceeded to the marriage, which was celebrated in the city of Ghent. There were great feasts at the solemnity of the wedding, and afterwards, which were attended by crowds of lords, barons and knights. The gallant lord of Coucy was there, whose presence was so acceptable at a feast, of which none knew better how to do the honours: it was for this reason the king of France had sent him thither. After they had been magnificently entertained, as well with tournaments as otherwise, they separated, and returned to their homes.

---

\* La Claux says 100,000 crowns.

The king of England, who saw that from this marriage the earl of Flanders must become the ally of the king of France, was ignorant whether the earl would take part against him with the duke of Burgundy his son, who of course would be his heir to the county of Flanders, and what treaties had been entered into by the earl with the king of France. The king, therefore, was much harder upon the Flemings than before, and harassed them by sea and land, and whenever he found them in his own country with their merchandise.

The king of France was not displeased at this, and would willingly have seen a war declared between the Flemings and the English: but the prudent men of Flanders and the citizens of the principal towns were averse to it, for the commonalties of Flanders maintained the quarrel between the two kings to be more just on the part of England than of France.

King Edward was gaining friends on all sides, and much need had he of them, from the appearance of the great wars and rebellions that were breaking out in his dominions beyond sea. He was given to understand, that his cousin king Charles of Navarre, who at that time resided in lower Normandy, would join his party; for he hated the king of France, on account of some estates which the king of Navarre claimed as his inheritance, and which the king of France denied his right to.

Counsellors on each side had frequently met, but they could never come to any agreement. The affair had remained in this situation, and each was on his guard. The king of Navarre had amply

provided his towns and castles in Coûtantin, in the county of Evreux, as well as his principal towns in Normandy, with all forts of stores: he had filled Cherbourg, where he resided, with men at arms.

At this time, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt was with the king of Navarre: he was governor of a town called Carentan\*, beyond the fords of St. Clement in Coûtantin, which he held under the king of Navarre, being part of his inheritance: sir Eustace was also one of his privy counsellors: so that the king of England sent to him (for he was his liege man and knight), to sound the intentions of the king of Navarre. He found him well inclined, and treated so successfully that the king of Navarre, with a small retinue, embarked on board a ship called the Lynne, and visited the king of England, who was right glad to see him. He entertained him handsomely; and they had many conferences together, in which they understood each other so well that, on the return of the king of Navarre, he was to declare war against the king of France, and to admit English garrisons into all his castles.

After these engagements and treaties had been concluded, the king of Navarre returned to Cherbourg in Normandy. He was escorted thither by some of the knights of the household of the king and queen of England, who were unfortunate as they came back; for they met some pirates of Normandy that attacked their vessels, and, being the

---

\* Carentan,—a town of Normandy, three leagues from the sea-coast, diocese of Coûtances.

strongest, overpowered them, and killed every person: they gave no quarter to any one.

The king of England was much enraged when he heard this, but he could not possibly then remedy it.

Soon after the return of the king of Navarre to Cherbourg, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt (who had been sent for by the prince of Wales, and whose heralds had summoned his attendance) took his leave, in order to obey the prince. The king parted with him with much regret, but sir Eustace explained his reasons so fully that he allowed him to depart. He embarked with his attendants, and sailed for St. Malo, where he landed, and then rode to Nantes, in order to pass the river Loire, with the permission of the duke of Brittany and the inhabitants, who as yet had not taken any part in this war. He continued his journey until he arrived in Poitou, at the town of Angoulême, where the prince received him with great pleasure, and shortly afterwards sent him to sir John Chandos and the captain de Buch, who were in Montauban, guarding the frontiers against the French. Sir Eustace, on his arrival, was most joyfully greeted by his former companions\*.

CHAP.

---

\* From the *Fœdera* it would appear, that Charles of Navarre sent two Ambassadors to England; for there is a passport for Peter Terturon, his secretary, and one also for William Dordane, dated the 6th June, 1370. The king's passport is dated the 12th August, 1370, when, I suppose, he came to England, where he must have remained some time, for the passport for his return is dated the 28th November, 1370. The convention between the two kings is in the *Fœdera*,

## CHAP. CCLVII.

THE CONSTABLES OF FRANCE AND OF HAINAULT  
 UNDERTAKE A GRAND EXPEDITION TO ATTACK  
 ARDRES.—THE FORTRESS OF REALVILLE IS  
 TAKEN, AND ALL THE ENGLISH WHO WERE IN  
 IT PUT TO THE SWORD.

THE knights of Picardy, about this period, were preparing a grand expedition of men at arms, with the intention of paying a visit to those of Ardres\*. Sir John Moreau de Fiennes, constable of France, and sir John Werthin, constable† of Hainault, were appointed, by order of the king of France, the leaders of it. Their rendezvous was in the good town of St. Omer. They amounted in the whole, to a thousand lances, knights and squires. These men at arms advanced, to shew their array, before the fort of Ardres, which was well garrisoned with English. They encamped there, and gave out that they intended to lay siege to it. The English in Ardres were not alarmed, but made every necessary preparation to defend themselves, if they should be attacked.

---

dera, to which I refer for further particulars. The king of Navarre, when returned to Cherbourg, sent other ambassadors to England, as their passport in the *Fœdera* is dated the 1st December, 1370.

\* Ardres,—a strong town in Picardy, four leagues from Calais. Near this place was held the famous interview between Henry VIII. and Francis I.

† Sir John Werthin, or Verchin, constable. He was before *sénéchal*.

One

One day these lords of France and of Hainault drew out their army to the field in gay spirits, and in noble array. It was a fine sight to behold the banners of these lords flying before them, and the gallant muster they made. They began an attack, but with little advantage; for many were killed and wounded; and nothing gained. According to the information which I then received, I believe it was on the fifth day they left Ardres, without any other action, and each man returned to his own home. Thus was this expedition put an end to.

We will now return to what was going forwards in a distant part of the country, and relate the siege of Réalville in Quercy by the French. There were upwards of twelve thousand combatants, all good men at arms; and at two days march were the duke of Berry, sir John d'Armagnac, sir John de Villemur, the lord de Beaujeu, and others from Auvergne and Burgundy, in all about three thousand fighting men, who were ready to advance should there be occasion.

Sir John Chandos, the capital de Buch, sir Guiscard d'Angle, and the others who were guarding the frontiers of Montauban, knew well what was passing at Réalville, and what the strength of their own forces in that part of the country consisted of. They found they were not strong enough to fight, nor to raise the siege; for the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, who were besieging Bourdeilles, would not give up that siege.

The French had set their miners to work at Réalville, and by their machines, which cast stones, &c.

&c. into it day and night, had harassed the garrison so much, they could not sufficiently watch these miners, who succeeded in their operations, and flung down a great part of the walls; by which means the town was taken, and all the English in it were put to death without mercy, which was a pity, for there were among them several good squires. The inhabitants were pardoned on their promising from that time forth to be loyal Frenchmen. The French commanders appointed captains and men at arms to guard it, as well as others to give advice in the article of repairs, or in whatever other business occasion might require.

After the conquest of Réalville, the army dispersed itself over the countries of Quercy and Rouergue, to get refreshments and recruit themselves. The companies went to the city of Cahors and its neighbourhood. Their leaders were, Aime-mon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, le petit Mechin, Jacques de Bray and Arnaudon de Pans, who despoiled the whole country.

The earl of Perigord, the earl de l'Isle, the earl de Comminges, the viscount de Carmaing and the other lords returned to their own estates; for sir Hugh Calverley, sir Robert Briquet, John Tresnelle, Lanut, Naudon de Bagerant, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Esparre and other captains of these free companies, were carrying on a destructive war there, and had burnt and ravaged the lands of the earl d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albret.

There was at this time, as high steward of Rouergue, a very valiant man and good knight, an English-



Englishman, called fir Thomas Whiteval\*. He resided in the town and castle of Milhaud†; a day's journey from Montpellier; and notwithstanding the whole country surrounding it had changed sides, and was conquered, he kept this garrison upwards of a year and a half, and also another fortress in Rouergue called Vauclerc. He made many expeditions, and different sallies much to his honor, until fir Bertrand du Guesclin drove him out, as you will hear related anon in the course of this history.

The town and castle of Bourdeilles still remained besieged.

---

#### CHAP. CCXLVIII.

THE FRENCH TAKE LA ROCHE POSAY‡.—THE SENESCHAL OF POITOU BURNS AND DESTROYS THE LANDS OF THE LORD DE CHAUVIGNY, AND TAKES BY ASSAULT HIS PRINCIPAL TOWN OF BRUX.

SIR John de Bueil, fir William des Bourdes, fir Louis de St. Julien and Carnet le Breton, remained on the frontiers of Poitou, with upwards

---

\* Whiteval. Q. if not Whitwell. Barnes calls him fir Thomas Wake.

† Milhaud, or Millau,—a town in Rouergue, on the river Tarne.

‡ La Roche Posay,—a town in Touraine, on the Creuse, noted for its medicinal springs.

of twelve hundred fighting men, and studied night and day by what means they could take, gain by surprise or otherwise, any towns, castles or fortresses in Poitou. From these measures it happened that they took by escalade a castle called la Roche Posay, at the entrance of Poitou, on the river Creuse, two leagues distant from la Haye\* in Touraine, and tolerably near to Châtelheraut on the same river.

The whole country was exceedingly alarmed at this; for the French placed a large garrison in it, repaired the walls, and amply provided it with all sorts of provision, ammunition and artillery.

When this news was brought to the prince, he was much displeased; but he could not prevent it. He sent orders to sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lord de Partenay, the lord de Pinane, and several others who were at Montauban with sir John Chandos, to return to him directly, as he wanted to employ them in another part of the country.

The aforesaid lords, in consequence of this command, left Montauban, and journeyed to Angoulême, where the prince was, who immediately sent them to Poitiers, to guard that city and defend the frontiers against the French.

There had lately turned to the French party a great baron of Poitou, called the lord de Chauvigny, viscount de Brux. This town had followed his example, which he had filled with Bretons and men

---

\* La Haye,—four leagues from Châtelheraut.

at arms : he himself had left the country, and gone to France to the king.

The prince and all the barons of Poitou were exasperated at this defection. The viscount de Rochechouart was also suspected ; and the prince, being informed that he was about to change sides, sent for him to Angoulême, where he told him what he had heard. The viscount denied it, and excused himself as well as he could : notwithstanding this, he was committed a close prisoner, and remained a considerable time in this dangerous situation.

Sir James Audley was at this period high steward of Poitou, a right sage and valiant knight. He made preparations for a grand expedition. There were with him sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lord de Pons, the lord de Partenay, the lord de Pinane, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir Maubrun de Linieres, the lord de Tannaybouton, sir William de Montaudire, and many other knights and squires of Poitou. They amounted in the whole to twelve hundred lances ; and there was also with them sir Baldwin Freville, high steward of Saintonge.

These lords made Poitiers their place of rendezvous : from that place they rode in grand array, and advanced until they entered Berry, where they began to burn and destroy the country, and to pillage poor people, to whom they did great damage. They then returned to Touraine. Wherever they passed, the countries suffered most exceedingly ; for none ventured to oppose them, as they were in such force as to be masters of the country. These men

at

at arms entered the lands of the lord de Chauvigny, whose lord had lately turned Frenchman, which they burnt and destroyed without hindrance, except the towns and strong holds. They came to his principal town of Brux\*, attacked it, and continued the attack a whole day with their men at arms, but gained nothing. They then encamped, and declared they would not thus leave it, for it was to be taken. They rose at day-break, and, having made every thing ready, sounded their trumpets for an assault. The Poitevins and English being formed into battalions, each lord with his men under his own banner, they made, on this Saturday, a most fierce attack. It lasted some time: for there were in the town men at arms, and some from the companies, who defended themselves as well as they could, as they knew their lives depended upon it. Many, therefore, were the gallant deeds of arms performed. The two high stewards of Poitou and Saintonge were anxious to gain the town. They made their archers shoot so quickly that scarcely any one dared to appear on the walls to defend it. On this Saturday morning, the town of Brux was so vigorously attacked, that it was won at last, and the gate thrown open for every one to enter it who chose.

All the men at arms of the viscount were taken; and the lords of the army had sixteen of them hanged in their armour, from hatred to the viscount, who was not in the country, but with the king

---

\* Brux,—a town in Poitou, near Chaunay, diocese of Poitiers.

of France at Paris. The town was burnt, and the inhabitants lost their all: there were besides very many slain and drowned. The English returned to Poitiers with their army, the better to refresh themselves.

---

CHAP. CCLIX.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES IS APPOINTED CAPTAIN OF THE PRINCE'S COMPANY.—HE CAUSES SIR PERDUCAS D'ALBRET TO TURN TO THE ENGLISH.—HE BESIEGES THE FRENCH COMPANIES IN THE FORT OF DURMEL.

**S**IR Robert Knolles resided in Brittany, where he had a fine and large estate: he had always been a good and loyal Englishman, and had served under the king of England, and the prince of Wales his eldest son, in their different expeditions, by whom he was much loved: having heard that the French were carrying on a disastrous war against the prince, and meant to take from him his inheritance of Aquitaine, which he had assisted in gaining for him, he was very much surprised and displeased. He therefore resolved in his own mind to collect as many men at arms as he possibly could, and go with them to serve the prince of Wales at his own cost and charges. As he had resolved, so did he execute: he sent to summon all his vassals, and to intreat his friends to accompany him. He gathered about sixty men at arms, with as many archers of his own dependants and friends, and made his preparations

parations for embarking them on board four large vessels, at a town and sea-port in Brittany called Conquet\*. When all his purveyances had been completed and sent on board, he set out from his castle at Derval†, and followed them, when he embarked on board his vessel, perceiving that his people were already at sea. He made sail, and arrived at the quay of la Rochelle, where the inhabitants gave him a grand entertainment, much against their inclinations; but they dared not do otherwise. He found there sir John Devreux, who commanded for the prince of Wales, as high steward, sir Thomas Percy being with sir John Chandos.

Sir John Devreux received sir Robert Knolles with great joy, and entertained him in the best manner he could. Sir Robert remained there two days, to refresh himself and his people. On the third day, he set out, taking the road to Angoulême, and continued his journey until he arrived there.

The prince and princess were exceedingly pleased to see sir Robert, and it seemed they could not do enough to show it. The prince appointed him captain of the knights and squires of his household, out of love to him, and as a reward for his valour and honor. He ordered them to pay sir Robert

---

\* Conquet,—a sea-port, five leagues from Brest. This name is much disfigured in all my copies, except in the Lamoignon manuscript.

† Derval,—a village between Nantes and Rennes, thirteen leagues from Nantes.

the same obedience as to himself, which they promised willingly to do.

When sir Robert had remained with the prince about five days, and those who were to accompany him in an expedition were ready, he was informed to what part it was meant that he should lead them: he took his leave of the prince, and set out from Angoulême well attended by the prince's knights. There were sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Stephen Collington, sir Dagloiret, sir Nêle Loring, sir William Torciel, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Trivet, sir Thomas Despenfer, sir Tancon\*, sir Thomas Banaster, sir Nicholas Bond, sir William le Moine, the high steward of the Agénois, sir Baldwin Freville, and upwards of sixty knights. They amounted in the whole to about sixty men at arms, five hundred archers, and as many foot soldiers, all in high spirits, eager to meet the French†.

This small army, of which sir Robert Knolles was the leader, advanced towards Agen, to enter Quercy, where the free companies had quartered themselves, and continued their march until they came to the city of Agen. They halted there a short time to refresh themselves, and to wait for the enemy. Whilst sir Robert made this halt at Agen, he learnt

\* Tancon. Q. Sir Richard Taunton.—BARNES.

† There seems some mistake relative to the number of men at arms; for sir Robert brought with him sixty men at arms. We must suppose, that many of the prince's household were at the time of sir Robert's arrival with sir John Chandos or sir James Audley, and, though mentioned by name, were not perhaps present.

that sir Perducas d'Albret (a famed captain of the free companies, who had upwards of three hundred men under his command) was in that part of the country, and that, through the solicitations of the duke of Anjou, he had embraced the French side, Sir Robert immediately sent to him a herald, with other messengers, who managed so well, that he consented to meet him at an appointed place in the open fields, on the faith of his passport.

When sir Robert met sir Perducas d'Albret, he feasted him well, and then by degrees entered upon the business of his having left the prince. He blamed him very much for having turned Frenchman, and for quitting the service of a prince who loved him so much, and who had advanced him to honors. Why should I make a long story of it? Sir Robert argued and talked the matter over so ably that sir Perducas d'Albret changed to the English party, and went over to them with upwards of five hundred Gasccons from the free companies. The duke of Anjou was much angered at this when he heard it, and held sir Perducas cheap for his breach of promise, as did all the others who were of the French party, and hated the English more than ever.

This news was soon carried to the city of Cahors, and to the other free companies, who formed a large garrison there, and had done so for a considerable time. When their leaders, Aimemon d'Ortige, le petit Mechin, Jacques de Bray, Perrot de Savoye and Arnaudon de Pans, heard that sir Perducas d'Albret had, with his whole company,  
gone



gone over to the English, they were very much disheartened and alarmed. Finding that the city of Cahors was of too great an extent for them to hold out against the English, they departed, after having given up the town to the bishop and the inhabitants. They went to the priory of Durmel, that was not far distant, which they had fortified some time before, and was not difficult to defend. They entered this place in good order, to wait for their enemies, who came as soon as they knew they had retired thither: they surrounded it, and made many a gallant attack: but those within, being tried men at arms, and well supplied with every thing, made very light of it.

As soon as sir John Chandos, sir Thomas Felton, the captal de Buch, sir John de Pommiers, sir Thomas Percy, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, and the other knights attached to the prince in Montauban, heard that sir Robert Knolles was besieging the companies in Durmel, they determined to march to his assistance; for it seemed to them that much glory might be acquired. Upwards of three hundred lances went from Montauban, leaving behind in garrison full two hundred, under the command of sir Aimery de Chartres, the souldich de l'Estrade, sir Bernardet d'Albreth, and the lord de Gironde. They pressed their march to arrive at the siege of Durmel. In their road, they came to a tolerably strong French town, called Moissac\*. It was only

---

\* Moissac,—a town of Quercy, on the Tarn, seven leagues from Montauban.

guarded by the townsmen, for there was not a gentleman in it. They sent their scouts to examine the place, who brought information that it was sufficiently strong, and that without a siege they could not well gain it. The leaders immediately called a council, to see what was best to be done; and they resolved in this council, that it should be wrong for them to stop at this place, which would interfere with their intentions regarding Durtel. They therefore continued their march: it was but early morning: and they had not advanced more than a league from the place before they met four carriers horses laden with provision, who were immediately stopped and seized. They inquired whence they came, and whither they were going. The carriers truly answered, that they had come from Toulouse, and were going to Moissac, with the intent of selling their provision. They were then questioned as to the state of that town, and what was the force within it. The carriers, not daring to tell a lie, said, that the town was much distressed by a scarcity, and they did not believe there were in it provisions for four days, if they should be besieged; and that there were no gentlemen in it, nor had it any defenders but the citizens.

The chiefs then called a council, and determined not to march further till they should have conquered this town. They returned, and, keeping the provision for themselves, gave the carriers their horses, telling them to go seek for more. They halted before Moissac, and encamped as if they meant to fix their quarters before it for a month:  
this

this first day they made preparations seemingly for an assault on the following, and pointed their cannon against the walls.

When the inhabitants of Moissac saw what was going forwards, they were much frightened, knowing they could not long hold out; for they were in great want of all sorts of provision; they opened a treaty with the English knights, which was soon concluded. By it they acknowledged the prince of Wales for their lord, and agreed to hold the town from him for ever, without fraud or treachery. On which they had peace granted, and nothing was taken from them.

Sir John Chandos and the other knights, at the request of the inhabitants, appointed a knight, called sir Robert Mytton\*, governor, with twenty men at arms and forty archers, to be maintained and paid at the expense of the town. They then marched to Durmel, where sir Robert Knolles and his army were.

There was great joy at their arrival, and thus all meeting together again. The new comers united with their former friends in pushing on the siege with vigour.

---

\* Mytton. Barnes calls him Mutton, and quotes 'the true use of armoury, in the life of the lord John Chandos,' p. 28.

## CHAP. CCLX.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES AND SIR JOHN CHANDOS  
RAISE THE SIEGE OF DURMEL.—THEY LAY  
SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF DOMME\*.

**D**URING the siege of Durmel, there were many attacks, skirmishes and gallant feats of arms; for they were good and able men, as well those who besieged the place as those who defended it. Had they not been such skilful soldiers, they could not have held out as they did.

The English and their partisans who lay before it, did not gain much advantage, for they were overpowered in two ways: it rained night and day, which hurt both men and horses: added to this, there was such a scarcity of provision, they had great difficulty in procuring wherewithal to satisfy their hunger. A loaf was sold there for three old groats. They were distressed to obtain any even at such a price. Of wines, they had a sufficient quantity, which to them were of the greatest comfort. In this situation, they remained upwards of five weeks. When they perceived that they made no impression, nor were likely to take the garrison of Durmel, and that they remained there in a very comfortable state, they determined to raise the siege, and to march for the town and castle of Domme, which was situated in a richer country.

Sir Robert de Domme, the lord of it, was governor of the town and castle; and there was with him

---

\* Domme,—a town in Perigord, election of Sarlet, on the Dordogne.

a knight,

a knight, his cousin, called sir Peter Sanglet. These two knights had collected large quantities of every thing necessary from the low countries, which they had brought into the town.

When the English and Gascons, who were fifteen hundred men at arms, two thousand archers and foot soldiers, arrived at Domme, they drew up in array, to lay siege to it, and began a brisk attack on the place. They pointed large machines against the walls; and many severe skirmishes and assaults were made on each side.

After they had besieged this place for fifteen days, and found they did not gain any advantage, nor were likely to conquer it, but were much straitened themselves, they determined to inform the prince of Wales of their situation, who was at that time at Angoulême. Chandos, the herald, was ordered to carry this message, who immediately set out, and journeyed until he came to Angoulême, where he found the prince with very few attendants, for all his knights and squires were away on different expeditions.

When the herald, Chandos, was arrived in the presence of the prince, he dropped on his knees, and recommended to him his masters who had sent him, and whom he had left at the siege of Domme. He then related their situation most wisely, as he had been ordered to do, and gave the credential letters which he had brought to the prince.

The prince listened attentively to all that was told him, and said he would consider this subject. He kept the herald with him five days, and, on the

sixth, he had letters delivered to him under the prince's seal, who said to him on his departure, 'Chandos, salute from me all our companions.' He replied, 'Most willingly, my lord.' When the herald set out, he took the road through Quercy. I will now relate what passed in the army, and what things they did during the absence of this herald.

---

CHAP. CCLXI.

**SIR ROBERT KNOLLES AND SIR JOHN CHANDOS MARCH FROM DOMME, WITHOUT DOING ANY THING.—THEY TAKE GAVACHES\*, ROCHEMADOR†, AND SEVERAL OTHER TOWNS WHICH HAD TURNED TO THE PARTY OF THE FRENCH.**

**S**OON after Chandos had left his masters at the siege of Domme, sir John Chandos, sir Robert Knolles, sir Thomas Felton, the captal de Buch, sir James Audley, and other knights, held a council, and resolved to break up this siege, for they gained nothing, and to make an incursion more into the country, in order to conquer such towns and garrisons as had lately turned to the French, through the means of the duke of Berry, and the free companies.

---

\* Gavaches. I cannot find this in the Gazetteer, and suspect it must be Gramat, a town in Quercy, election of Figeac, near Peyrac.

† Rochemador,—Roquemadour,—a town in Quercy, election of Figeac, near Peyrac.

They

They decamped, and marched from Domme, taking the road for Gramat, which immediately surrendered: the inhabitants turned again to the English the moment they came before it. The chiefs and the army remained for three days in Gramat, to refresh themselves, and during that time considered whither they should go next. When they went away, they made for a fortress which the companies had newly taken, called Frons. As soon as the garrison perceived the English advancing with so great a force, and learnt that those of Gramat had become English, they also changed their side, and swore that they would be faithful to the English; but they lied. The English continued their march, and halted before Roquemadour. The inhabitants had strongly fortified themselves, not having any inclination to surrender.

The English having well examined the situation of the town of Roquemadour and the countenance of its inhabitants, brought forward their engines and artillery, and began to attack it with great vivacity and vigour. I can say, that many and sharp were the attacks: several were slain and wounded by the arrows from those within and without. This assault lasted one whole day.

Towards vespers, the English retired to their camp, with the intention of renewing the attack on the morrow: but during the night those of Roquemadour, who the preceding day had severely felt the courage of their opponents, and how hardly they had pushed them, called a council. The wisest among them said, that in time they must surrender; and if they were taken by assault, they would all  
be

be slain, the town burnt without mercy; and that, weighing the bad and good, they advised opening an immediate treaty with the English. This was soon concluded. They declared that from that day forward, they would be true to the English, which they afterward solemnly swore to observe. They were also obliged to supply the army with fifty horse-load of provisions from the town, during the space of fifteen days; which were to be paid for at a certain fixed price; and thus Roquemadour obtained peace.

The English continued their march toward Villefranche, in the Toulousain, burning and destroying the flat countries, bringing great calamities on the poor inhabitants, and conquering such towns and castles as had changed sides; some by treaty, others by force. They came at length before Villefranche, which was tolerably well inclosed, and provided with provision and artillery; for all those of the surrounding flat country had retired into it. They commenced the attack, on their arrival, with much intrepidity. During the four days they lay before it, frequent were the assaults, and many were killed on both sides. The garrison having reflected on their situation, found they could not hold out much longer, and, as there was no appearance of help coming to them, they surrendered to the English, on condition that neither themselves nor their town should receive any harm. In this manner did Villefranche, on the borders of Toulouse, become English; which when told to the duke of Anjou, who was at Toulouse, grieved him much. Sir John Chandos



Chandos appointed governor and captain of Villefranche an English knight, called sir Robert le Roux\*, and then continued his march, burning and destroying the country.

We will now return to the siege of Bourdeilles, and relate how the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke persevered in it.

---

CHAP. CCLXII.

THE EARLS OF CAMBRIDGE AND OF PEMBROKE  
CONQUER THE GARRISON OF BOURDEILLES.

**W**HILST these last-mentioned barons and knights of England, with their army, were making excursions and conquests in Rouergue, Quercy and the Agénois, where they continued a considerable time, the siege of Bourdeilles was still going on. It had lasted upwards of nine weeks. All this while there were daily skirmishes, attacks and gallant deeds of arms.

The besieged had a custom of advancing every day with their whole army without the gate, where they skirmished valorously with all comers, and behaved themselves so gallantly that they acquired great praise even from the enemy. The garrison remained in this situation some time, and would have continued so longer, if pride and presumption had not tempted them; for they were in sufficient

---

\* Sir Robert le Roux. Bérart calls him sir John Roos. Why not sir Robert Roos?

numbers,

numbers, all tried men, with plenty of provision, and artillery to defend themselves. The besiegers began to grow weary, notwithstanding they acted much to their honour, for they considered that their expenses were greater than the conquest they were attempting was worth.

After holding a council, to consider by what means they could the sooner bring this business to an end, they determined to arm all their people by four o'clock in the morning, and to keep them in their quarters, sending a part of them to skirmish with the garrison as usual: for the garrison were so eager for these combats, they would frequently march into the open fields to engage in them. The English ordered their party to make a feint, and to retreat by degrees towards their own army, as if they were defeated, in order to draw them further out, and then a body of cavalry was to fall forth, and, by getting between them and the town, prevent them from entering it again.

The plan was adopted; for they said, if they could not win the place by this means, they should not easily gain it. On the morrow morning they armed themselves, and sent two hundred to skirmish with the garrison.

When the companies in Bourdeilles, and their captains Ernaudon and Bernardin, saw them approach, they were very much rejoiced, and quickly made themselves and their men ready. There might be about seven score young men, active soldiers, who, having ordered the gate to be thrown quite open, advanced to their barriers, and met the English

English lances and bucklers very handsomely. They fought so well that the English gave way, and retreated as they had been ordered; which being observed, those of the garrison ordered their standard to be advanced, crying out at the same time, 'By St. Anthony's head, we shall take them.' On which they attacked them with greater fury as they were flying before them, so that some were unhorsed, wounded or made prisoners. But because they were so eager to gain every thing, and as the proverb says, 'All covet, all lose,' they had advanced so far from the town that when they wished to return they could not; for sir John Montague\*, who had the command of the ambuscade, which consisted of five hundred chosen men, placed himself between them and the town. He was knighted on the field, by the earl of Cambridge, and directly attacked them with great vigour.

When the companies of Bourdeilles saw themselves thus entrapped, they were sensible of their folly in pursuing so far: however, they collected themselves in a body like brave men, and began to fight valiantly, and to perform such feats of arms as were marvellous to behold. This combat lasted upwards of two hours: and they annoyed their enemies so much, and behaved so gallantly, that the English lords were much delighted with them.

Sir John Montague proved himself deserving of his knighthood, by his valour and prowess in at-

---

\* Sir John Montague,—nephew and heir to the earl of Salisbury. —BARNES.

tacking the enemy. At last, those of Bourdeilles were entirely defeated: all were killed or made prisoners, for not one of them escaped. Those of the English who had been taken were rescued. Sir John Montague made the two governors, Ernaudon and Bernardin de Batefol, his prisoners.

During the time of this skirmish, the earls of Cambridge and of Pembroke had advanced to the barriers and gate, which having gained, they entered the town, the earl of Cambridge's banner displayed before them. Thus did the English conquer Bourdeilles. They made the inhabitants swear fealty and allegiance to the prince. The chiefs ordered the lord de Mucident to remain there as governor, and gave him sixty archers, in addition to his own people. They then broke up their encampment, having determined to march to Angoulême, to know from the prince what he wished them next to do.

Thus ended the siege of Bourdeilles; and the lords with their companies set out on their return. We will now speak of those knights of England and Gascony, who were making inroads in Quercy, and of Chandos the herald, and the news he brought from the prince of Wales.

## CHAP. CCLXIII.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES, SIR JOHN CHANDOS AND  
SIR THOMAS FELTON MARSHAL THEIR MEN, AND  
RETURN TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

**A**S these knights and their army were making incursions on the borders of Rouergue and Quercy, taking towns and castles, and distressing the whole country, Chandos the herald returned. He found them before a castle in Quercy, which they had hard pressed. When they saw the herald, they received him joyfully, and inquired what news he had brought. He told them that his highness the prince saluted them all, and was very desirous of seeing them; and at these words he gave them the letters from the prince, which the barons took and read.

They found that with many assurances of affection and friendship, he desired that sir John Chandos, sir Thomas Felton, and the capital de Buch should return to him at Angoulême; and that sir Robert Knolles with his army, and all the free companies, should remain where they were to continue the war.

When these three lords, who were the chiefs of the army, heard the prince's orders, they looked at each other, and asked what was best to be done. With one voice, they addressed themselves to sir Robert Knolles, and said; 'Sir Robert, you see and hear how our lord the prince orders us back, and directs that you should remain in this country to be the leader of the army.'

'My lords,' replied sir Robert, 'his highness the prince does me more honor than I could wish.  
Know,

Know, that I will never remain here without you; and that, if you go, I will not stay behind.' So they resolved to return all four to the prince, to learn more fully what were his intentions. This grand expedition was broken up: and, when the time of separation arrived, they ordered sir Perducas d'Albreth to the town of Roquemadour with his company to defend that part of the frontiers against the French. The lords then addressed the other free companies as follows :

'Gentlemen, you hear how our lord the prince sends for us to come to his presence; for what cause we are as yet ignorant. We will therefore explain to you what we wish you to do in our absence. You will collect all your forces into one body, and with them pass the frontiers of Limousin and Auvergne, to carry the war thither; for without war you cannot subsist; and we swear and promise you faithfully, that whatever town, castle or fortress of France ye shall take and conquer, wherever it may be situated, and ye shall be besieged in it, we will fly to your assistance, and will cause the siege to be raised.' Those who heard this promise replied, 'It is well spoken, and we will abide by it; for perhaps we may be obliged to have recourse to you.'

In this manner they separated: the excursion was put an end to by the lords on one side, and the companies on the other. The lords returned to the town of Angoulême, where the prince entertained them handsomely. A short time before, the lords of Cambridge and of Pembroke, with sir John

John Montague and several others, had also returned from Perigord.

We will now mention the companies and men at arms who had separated from sir John Chandos, and how they prospered.

---

CHAP. CCLXIV.

THE FREE COMPANIES ATTACHED TO THE ENGLISH TAKE THE CASTLE OF BELLEPERCHE\*, AND THE MOTHER OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON WHO WAS IN IT.—THEY ALSO TAKE THE STRONG CASTLE OF ST. SAUVEUR† IN BERRY.

**A**MONG the leaders of these companies, there were three squires from the territories of the prince, who were great captains and valiant men at arms, very enterprising, and determined scalers of fortresses. One of them was named Ortingo, another Bernard de Wisse, and the third Bernard de la Salle‡. These three captains wished not to remain long idle, nor without being spoken of for some gallant deed of arms. They marched with their companies into Limousin, to refresh themselves. At that time, sir John Devreux was

---

\* Belleperche,—a town and abbey on the Garonne, in the diocese of Montauban, near to Castel Sarasin.

† St. Sauveur,—a village in Berry, diocese and election of Bourges.

‡ Q. these three names. One of my MSS. calls the second Bernard de Wiske, and so does Barnes.

seneschal and governor of the province for the prince.

These three squires, having considered what castle they might conquer from France, fixed upon that of Belleperche, in the Bourbonnois. It was beautiful and strong. The mother of the duke of Bourbon, and of the queen of France, made it her residence. They learnt by their spies that the good lady was alone, and had not any guards with her except her own household; and that the governor of the castle, making frequent excursions from it, was very far from being attentive or on his guard.

These captains, and such companions whom they had picked out, did not let their intentions sleep after they had formed them, but rode day and night, and arrived by break of day at Belleperche, which they took by escalado, and the mother of the queen of France who was in it. Finding the castle was so strong, and handsome, and in so rich a country, they declared they would keep it against all opposers.

In that same night, they also took another castle, called St. Sauveur, on the borders of Limousin, and gave it to sir John Devreux.

News was soon carried to France, that Belleperche was taken by the English, and the mother of the queen made prisoner. The king was very much vexed at this, as were the queen and duke of Bourbon, but they could not better themselves, at least for the present.

About this time, sir Louis de Sancerre was nominated a marshal of France: he was a valiant and hardy knight. Sir Arnold d'Andreghen was still  
alive,



alive, but so old and worn out with bearing arms, and from his former labours, that in truth he could not be of any service, nor was he able to do the duties of his office; but he was willing to carry arms whenever it might be necessary.

We will say a little of the affairs of Picardy, as we have been some time with those of the distant parts, and speak of an assembly which was held in the city of Rouen.

---

CHAP. CCLXV.

THE KING OF FRANCE, INTENDING TO SEND A LARGE NAVAL ARMAMENT TO THE ENGLISH COASTS, IS PREVENTED BY THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AT CALAIS.

THE king of France, during the summer (1369), had made great preparations of ships, barges and other vessels in the port of Harfleur, with the intent of sending a large force to England, well furnished with men at arms, knights and squires. His brother, the lord Philip, duke of Burgundy, was appointed commander of this army, which was to destroy all England.

The king of France fixed his residence in the good city of Rouen, in order to attend more promptly to this business. He visited his fleet two or three times every week, to which he shewed much affection. Added to this, his summons were so extensive that it was wonderful to see the numbers of men at arms who were collected in Vexin,

Beauvoisis, and in the neighbourhood of Rouen. Provisions and other stores were so abundantly brought there that they would have been sufficient for a voyage to Spain or Portugal.

The lord de Clifton, who was one of the privy counsellors to the king, approved not of this expedition to England, and did all he could to dissuade the king and his nobles from it. He told them, they were not so much accustomed to naval engagements as the English, and urged many reasons in support of this, as one who was better acquainted with the manners and habits of the English, and the state of that country, than many others. Notwithstanding this, neither the king nor his council would change their mind, but resolved this armament should sail.

The king of England and his son the duke of Lancaster, as well as several of his council, had received information of this army, and of the intentions of the French to invade and carry the war into England. They were much rejoiced at this, and had provided all the ports and harbours opposite to Ponthieu and Normandy with sufficient garrisons of men at arms and archers to receive them, if they should come. The whole kingdom of England was ready prepared to give them a good reception whenever they should land.

The king, having determined to send the duke of Lancaster, with a body of men at arms to Calais, immediately named those whom he ordered to accompany him.—There were the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, sir Walter Manny, the lord Roos

Roos of Hamlake, sir Henry Percy, the lord Basset, the lord Willoughby of Eresby, the lord Delaware, the lord de la Pole, sir Thomas Grandison, sir Alan Boxhall, sir Richard Stury\*, and many others; the whole force amounted to about five hundred men at arms, and as many archers. They marched to Dover and its neighbourhood. When the transports were ready, they embarked, and having a favourable wind, arrived at the strong town of Calais, where they landed, and by little and little disembarked every thing which belonging to them. They took up their quarters in the town.

About this time the king of England sent ambassadors to entreat most earnestly sir Robert de Namur to assist him in the war, with all the men at arms that were dependant on him. Sir Robert, who had ever been steady and loyal to the English, replied, that he should be as soon on his march as was necessary; for having been informed that the king or one of his sons was to be at Calais, to make an incursion, the moment he should hear of the duke of Lancaster's arrival, he would summon all his companions, and those whose assistance he wished for; his arms and every thing else being already prepared.

We will now return to what was passing in Poitou.

---

\* Sturie. Barnes calls him Sterrie; Hollingshead, Sturrie.

## CHAP. CCLXVI.

THE CASTLE OF LA ROCHE SUR YON SURRENDERS  
TO THE ENGLISH.—THE GOVERNOR OF IT PUT TO  
DEATH, BY ORDERS FROM THE DUKE OF ANJOU.

**Y**OU will remember, that when the herald Chandos brought the orders from the prince of Wales, the barons and knights of Guienne, who were upon an expedition in Quercy and Rouergue, returned with one accord to the town of Angoulême, where they found the prince, who received them with great joy. Some little time before, the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke had also returned with their army, after the conquest of Bourdeilles, as you have before heard.

The lords and barons rejoiced exceedingly at this meeting, and great entertainments were made by them. They considered which way they should next march, to make the most of the season. They found, on examining the country, that there was near the borders of Anjou a fine and strong castle, called la Roche sur Yon\*, which was a dependance of Anjou: there they resolved to march, lay siege to it, and conquer it if they were able.

They made their preparations, and set out for that part of the country. They were joined by all

---

\* La Roche sur Yon,—a town in Poitou, on the Yon, eight leagues from Luçon, fourteen from Nantes.

the barons and knights of Poitou : fir James Audley, the lord de Pons, the lord de Partenay, fir Louis de Harcourt, fir Guiscard d'Angle, the lord de Pinane, the lord de Tannaybouton, fir Maubrun de Linieres, and the fénéfchal of la Rochelle, fir Thomas Percy. Thefe men at arms and gallant company of lords, when they were all afsembled, amounted to more than three thoufand lances. They took the field, and came before the caſtle of la Roche fur Yon, which was well built and ſtrong, with a good garrifon, and well provided with proviſions and artillery.

The duke of Anjou had appointed governor a knight called fir John Blondeau, who had under his command many good companions, at the charge and pay of the duke.

The lords and barons formed the ſiege in a handſome manner, and with great diſplay. They ſurrounded the caſtle, for they were ſtrong enough to do ſo, and had ordered from Poitiers and Thouars\* large engines on carriages, which they pointed againſt the fort, as well as ſeveral cannons and ſpringals, with which the army was provided, and from long cuſtom had always carried with them. They had alſo great plenty of proviſion, which was brought to them daily from Poitiers and the adjacent country.

Sir John Blondeau, finding himſelf thus beſieged by ſo many good men at arms (for almoſt all the

---

\* Thouars,—an ancient city of Poitou, ſixteen leagues from Poitiers.

knights of Aquitaine were there), and that no aid was likely to be sent to him, began to be alarmed: he well knew that those lords would never leave the place until they had won it by fair or foul means.

In the army of the earl of Cambridge, with sir John Chandos and the other barons, were some knights from Poitou well acquainted with the governor, and who in former times had been his companions in arms.

These knights advanced to the barriers, and upon their faith and assurances held a conversation with him, and talked the matter over so ably (for he was not a sensible man, though a valiant knight,) that he entered into a treaty to deliver up the castle, if he were not succoured, nor the siege raised, within a month; when he was to receive the sum of six thousand francs for the provisions in it.

The treaty thus entered into was ratified; and the garrison remained quiet, under condition, that if the castle was not relieved within a month, it should be surrendered.

This being done, the knight sent information of it to the king of France, the dukes of Anjou and of Berry, and to all the lords from whom he expected assistance, in order that he might be secure from any reproaches they might cast upon him. Notwithstanding these informations, that the castle was strong, and absolutely essential to France, on account of the provinces of Touraine and Anjou, no relief was sent; so that, when the month was expired, the English lords summoned the governor

to perform his promise, for which he had given good hostages. Sir John did not intend to break his engagement: he said to his companions, ' Since the king of France and the duke of Anjou are determined to lose this castle, I cannot defend it alone: ' he therefore delivered it up to the English, who took possession with great joy. The governor received the sum of six thousand francs, as agreed upon for the provision in the castle, which was well worth it; and he and his garrison were escorted to the town of Angers.

Instantly on his arrival, he was arrested by the governor of Angers, and thrown into prison; and, as I have heard, was the same night put into a sack, cast into the river, and drowned by the orders of the duke of Anjou, for having accepted money to surrender a castle, which had been well provided, and was strong enough to have held out for a year, if the governor had chosen.

Thus did the English gain the castle of la Roche sur Yon in Anjou, which they well garrisoned and strengthened: they then returned to the prince of Wales at Angoulême.

After the conquest of la Roche sur Yon, which enraged the French much, the lords, as I have said, returned to Angoulême, where the prince gave leave for some to go to their homes. Lord James Audley, that valiant knight and sénéchal of Poitou, went to his residence at Fontenay le Comte\*,

---

\* Fontenay le Comte,—a city in Poitou, near la Vendée, diocese of la Rochelle, twenty-five leagues from Poitiers.

where he was attacked by so severe a disorder that it ended his life. The prince and princess were exceedingly grieved at this event, as were all the knights and barons of Poitou. His obsequies were performed at Poitiers in a most magnificent manner, and were attended by the prince in person\*.

Soon afterward, at the request of the barons and knights of Poitou, sir John Chandos, who was constable of Aquitaine, was appointed sénéchal of Poitou, and went to the city of Poitiers, which he fixed on for his residence. He frequently made excursions upon the French, and kept them under such continual alarms, they never dared to venture abroad but in very large bodies.

About this time, the viscount de Rochechouart obtained his liberty. The prince of Wales had kept him a prisoner, because he suspected him of being inclined to the French; but at the solicitations of his friends in Poitou, who were at that time with the prince, he gained his freedom, and was restored to his estate. When the viscount de Rochechouart had got his liberty, he went in disguise as speedily as he could to Paris, to the king of France, where he turned Frenchman, and then

---

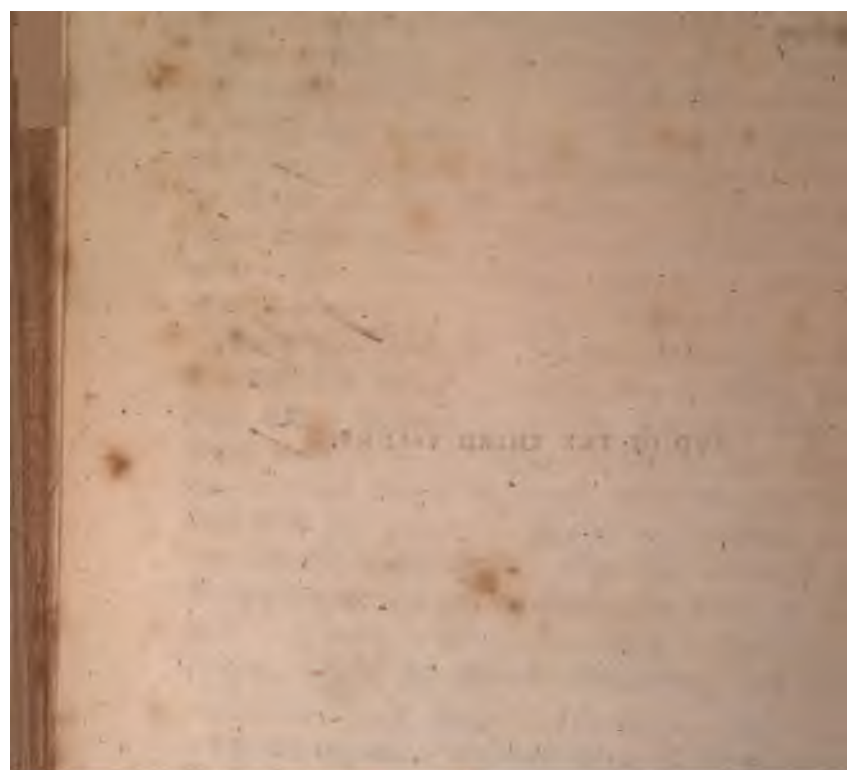
\* Barnes says this is a mistake—of the son for the father. Sir James Audley, son of lord James Audley, sénéchal of Poitou, died in Gascony about this time; and on this loss, lord James, with the prince's leave, retired to England, where he lived many years. He died in 1386, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Sir John Chandos was nominated sénéchal of Poitou, on lord James retiring to England.



came back to his estate, without any one being informed of the matter. Having placed Thibaut du Pont, a Breton and expert man at arms, in his castle, he directly sent his challenge to the prince of Wales, against whom he kept up a vigorous warfare.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.









Stanford University Libraries



3 6105 013 516 849

DATE DUE

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY  
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA  
94305

